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Samskrit Studies by M. Hinganna  
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Page 51 appears to be corrected



आ नो भद्राः कर्तव्यं यन्त्र विद्वतः

Let good thoughts come to us from everywhere  
Rg. Veda I. 89.1

Bhāsa's dramas - II.

Ideals of Ancient Indian Education by Dr A. A. H. Kar.  
Indian Book Shop, Benares.

U. Venkatakrishna Rao

Professor of Sanskrit,

Madras Christian College,

Tambaram.

What care we for the praise of him who lands  
In ignorance of where our merit lies?

What painter values at a rust applause,  
However loud from him that lacketh eyes?

Nay, blame itself we'd rather choose to hear,  
If that the judge discerns the faults he shows;  
and censure pleases the judicious more  
than floods of flattery from fools like those.



Here in Verse 4 - 615 it is stated that the word STHITI cannot obviously refer to the sanction - sanctioning of a temple and anybody can see that it was written long before temple technique was perfected.

Baby. In the meanwhile, Nandagopa has accepted the baby and decided to substitute it in the place of his own which he has cast away on the river bank. After Nandagopa departs, Vasudeva also decides to go back, but hearing the cast off baby crying, is startled in the beginning, but soon reassures himself: he is happy at the prospect of being able to deceive Kamsa saying that this girl was just then born to Devaki and with the child, he comes back to the place where his wife was delivered and gives it to his wife. Act I ends there. <sup>In the Bhagavata Vasudeva and Nandagopa do not meet + the baby is exchanged quietly when the</sup>

The II act starts with a unique blood curdling vision, the like of which is perhaps difficult to be met with even in Shakespeare. Kamsa's sleep is disturbed in his bedroom by some Chandala girls who straightaway ask him to marry them. 'What does this earthquake betoken? either good or evil?' Kamsa is reflecting within himself when the girls again alarm him with their strange request. He wonders how these girls might have let themselves in. But the girls will not allow him any rest, they continue their request and Kamsa, who was so far dealing death and creating fright even to Yama and Mers, are now causing him the deepest alarm. He thinks a great weight is lifted off his mind when these girls vanish as strangely as they have come. But a more frightful thing, Curse embodied, appears before him under orders from the Supreme Occupation controller, Visnu. Heap of black collyrium, torch in hand, with frightful jaws and mouth, with tawny



## Summaries of Bhāsa's dramas.

Bāla charita. (x) Foot note to the word Kāṭyāyāni (next page)

[The word Kāṭyāyāni is always written and pronounced as Kāṭyāyini in Malabar. A com. on the Śuṅgā saptaśatī derives this peculiar word with an extra 'i' before t + final ini instead of ani. The Pañcīkā on the Amarakośa (which must be more than 400 years old since the mss in the Adyar Library bears the date 1574 A.D. - see Adyar Library Bulletin Vol II. Pt I. Feb 41) writes the word also in this way when commenting on ३॥ कात्यायनी गौरी. Rāma Vāriyār too gives Kāṭyāyini as an alternative for कात्यायनी & curiously reflects both as devoid of sanction. So it looks as though the form Kāṭyāyini which Bhāsa alone uses may have been a Malabar mannerism; similarly the word कृतक is always written by Bhāsa as कृताकृता, again another Malabar mannerism]. <sup>Footnote to be added at foot of page 4 where Kāṭyāyāni occurs - see next page.</sup>

Balacharita. The story of the Balacharita is natural that of Sri Krishna as a boy, ending with his killing Kamsa. With minor variations in respect of one or two episodes, the story is practically the same as the one in Bhāgavata purāṇa. I Skandha purvārdha ending with Kamsa vadhā in 44<sup>th</sup> chapter.

After the exit of the Sutrādhārā, Nārada enters the stage and informs the audience about the birth of the divine baby. He also for and the act proper starts with



eyes like those of a snake, it appears truly like Anger coming straight from Maheswara's mouth to the earth. The startled Kansa asks what it is; it replies 'I am Mathika Rishi's curse, Tajrabahu, comes in the guise of a Chandala, with a garland of skulls, straight from the cemetery to enter into your heart'. Kansa avers that this is a vain boast, but in spite of his protests, it forces an entry along with Alakṣmī, Kṣatī, Kālarātri, Mahārīdrā and Pīṅgalikṣī. At this moment, the ejection of the old tenant, Rājādrī by the new occupant, Curse, is simply bloodcurdling and takes Kansa's breath away. Śrī, rather reluctantly, has to leave her home and depart to Kṛmī's abode, while the Curse starts something like a devil dance with the Chandala girls. With his virtues departed, Kansa is alarmed when the Curse embraces him, warns him of his impending death and departs. Kansa is now wide awake and demands an explanation from his servants as to why they should have allowed such hideous looking Chandala girls to enter: they swear they have seen none of them. Kansa is worried it might be an evil dream and sends his servant to consult the royal astrologers why in the night quake shocks have rocked the earth, along with violent cyclones and other portents. The servant informs that the Divine Being is now incarnated with a mysterious purpose. Exactly at the moment a servant informs him of the birth of a child to Devakī. Kṛṇḍāsa reports the birth of a daughter and requests that she might be spared; Kansa reminds of his previous plight, that he would; Kansa lifts it to dash it on the rock, but Kṛtyāyānī, for that is the baby, slips from his hand into the sky, telling him that she is born to destroy his family. Kṛṇḍāsa, Śīla, Nīla, and Manojana, her attendants appear and vanish and the Act ends as mysterious as it started, robbing Kansa's peace of mind away.



Devaki worried about the <sup>new born</sup> baby. Vasudeva takes the child out in the darkness, not knowing what to do and departs somehow pacifying his wife. He finds the guards dead asleep, crosses the flooded Yamuna river which of its own accord becomes easily fordable for him, and proceeds to the shed of the cowherds nearby, where he remembers his old friend Nandagopa was living. It so happens that Nandagopa is also come out exactly at the same time with a still-born baby purporting to bury it before anybody would come to know of it. Vasudeva recognises his friend in the darkness and calls out to him. The latter, though frightened in the beginning, regains his self-possession, but is not easily willing to disclose what he is carrying. After a good deal of persuasion, Nandagopa explains to him that his wife was even ignorant of whether she was delivered of a girl or a boy and that he had brought the dead girl away. Vasudeva again prevails upon him to cast aside the dead child. After this, Vasudeva requests Nandagopa to take his child and protect it but Nandagopa who is walking with great difficulty because of the constant fetters to which he was now subjected by Kansa's orders at Vasudeva's instance a short while ago, at first refuses; but when Vasudeva reminds him of their previous friendship, Nanda readily accepts the child happily and promises to him that he will be very happy amidst the cows in that village. The divine weapons of Krishna, Bhakra, Saranga, Kaumodaki, Sankha and his vehicle Garuda pay their obeisance and decide to live incognito as cowherds round about the Divine



The incidents in the later 3 acts are practically the same as in the Bhāgavata Purana, with this difference that they are briefer here, and so they need not be summarised here. The drama ends with the fifth act with Kamsa's death and Ugrasena's accession. We believe that this is identical with the Kamsa-  
Vadha referred to by Patanjali as being staged by the S'obhanikas or dramatic troupes of the time; also it might have inspired Pusyamitru to kill his patron Bhadratha in an army melee which is exactly similar to the Shannumaha of Kamsa.

It is interesting to note that the portents described for example in the Buddhist scriptures at Buddha's birth are quite similar to those described in the Bālacharita at Sri Krishna's birth. The Buddha was called 'mahad bhūtam' exactly as Sri Krishna in the Hari Vamśa and Bālsch. and also in our Visṇusahasranāma <sup>postscript</sup> श्री विष्णुसहस्रनामम् etc. Buddha's irresistible desire to renounce and serve humanity by showing it a path for universal redemption is similar to Sre Rama's resolve in the Pratiṃā  
करोम्यमृतपैर्यमं नैकां नोपपादितम् । 24.



Abhisheka. This drama must have been another early production and might have been composed by him to commemorate the accession of his patron Pusyamitra Singa. The plot is entirely taken from the Ramayana, the Kiskindhā, Sundara and the Yuddha Kandas being summarised in his own lively and original manner. At the end Sri Rama is crowned by the gods with Dasaratha's permission. At the end of the I act Sugriva is crowned, Vibhisana in IV, and Rama at the end of the last act. It deserves to be noted that all the coronations are celebrated not inside a city, but outside. Bhasa seems to believe that real coronations are those consecrated outside the city filled with all sorts of hypocritical people. Rama's coronation must be celebrated only in 'muni-jana Vanavāsa', to be enshrined for ever in the hearts of his sincere devotees.

We might note a few interesting items before we translate two typical scenes. On his death-bed, Vali performs the ceremonial āchamana or holy sipping of the water thrice and he feels as though he is



In a city called Vairantya, the mansions in which were  
 mocking at Indra's Amaraṇi, there lived a King  
 Kuntibhoja by name, son of Duryodhana (evidently  
 different from the Bhārata epic hero). The people therein  
 were enjoying life to the fullest extent by making  
 their youth āmodita or fully scented (cf Asvaghosa  
 महाल वत्तु अमोदः मणिककुले - Fragments discovered  
 by Inders). Upasānas or specially designed Baths  
 in which people could spend hours and regale them-  
 selves - wrongly described as Turkish Baths now -  
 were fitted up in royal palaces and the palatial  
 mansions of the rich - as described for example  
 in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra. Ākāśatoya or artificial  
 shower baths arranged like waterfalls were also  
 fitted up and Kurangi in a desperate moment  
 rushes there to bathe under one such. Even the  
 ordinary man in the street stealthily made love  
 to his sweetheart and sang away his time happily  
 in her sweet embraces. It was no wonder then that  
 in such an atmosphere a supernatural Vidyādhara



28  
dying. The celestial rivers Ganga and the divine nymphs  
Urvasi present themselves to escort the dying hero in  
a celestial car propelled by a thousand white swans.  
In his earlier drama, Bhasa had made Arimāraka  
declare that dying people visualise some strange  
visions; in accordance with this social belief of the  
times, perhaps, Bhasa made all his dying heroes  
have such visions just prior to their death and  
~~made~~<sup>escorted</sup> them escorted to heaven in a celestial car.  
Duryodhana in the Virubhanga, Dasaratha in the  
Pratimā also have such visions just before they die.  
The Kausitaki Upanishad had just then declared  
that the wise scholar goes to a very different sort  
of 'Brahma' or heaven escorted by nymphs on his  
deathbed. The most striking among such scenes  
of Bhasa is the death of Dasaratha in Pratimā II.  
Another such striking episode is found in a  
rather suggestive manner, at the end of II act  
here, where Hanuman seems to be worried as  
to how best to announce his arrival to Rama.



would be travelling through the sky in an aerial car,  
helping those who were separated from their sweet-  
hearts by presenting them with <sup>magic</sup> rings. The modern  
custom of consulting horoscopes <sup>before</sup> marriages  
does not seem to have come into vogue as yet and  
the custom of marrying the maternal or paternal  
uncle's daughter - prevalent among the Dravidians  
in South India though prohibited by Bauddhāyana -  
seems to have been very common then. The curse of  
a devout Brahmin was believed to be potent enough  
to effect the change of a Kṣātrīya family into a  
Chandāla and the people were so superstitious and  
primitively simple as to believe in 'heavenly voices'  
instructing them at critical junctures.

The first Act opens with the princess <sup>Kurange</sup> ~~Kurange~~  
- for that was the name of the daughter of Kuntibhoja  
sporting in a pleasure park. All on a sudden, an  
elephant attacks the party and the maids manage  
to make good their escape, leaving the princess to  
the direct fury of the elephant. At that moment,  
a young and handsome Chandāla marches right  
up to the princess, attacks the elephant, receives  
its charges, pacifies it and rescues her. When she



after his talk with Sītā. So he dramatically decides to  
destroy the Asokavana so fondly tended and watered  
with maternal care by Her Majesty Mandodarī  
own hands (III.1 exactly as in Sākuntalā), abounding  
in lovely Kokilās, lotuses, well-designed rows of trees,  
and the clove-like Trikūṭa peak; this destruction  
becomes Hanuman's 'visiting card' sent to Rāvana.  
The other two points relate to the peculiarity of  
the words used by Bhāsa. In the Vācā soon  
after Indrajit's death is announced to his father,  
another announcement is also made from behind  
the curtain and the reference to Rāvana in that  
context as possessing twenty hands with which  
he has been victorious over the entire world  
is as follows: visvalokaviprayavikhyātā vim-  
sādbāhusālīni bhartari lankeśvare. Here Bhāsa  
seems to use a peculiar form vimśat and not  
the usually current form vimśati. Perhaps the  
form was used in the earlier phase of the  
language when Bhāsa flourished. Similarly,



8  
had completely lost all hope. Though the princess was late  
pacified and carried to the palace, her heart is fully  
engrossed in grateful remembrance of the disinterested  
rescuer who has disappeared as wonderfully as he  
had presented himself. But the king's minister some-  
times pursued him unobserved into his Chandala habit-  
-tion, the Ghari, but they were unable to unearth  
any more information about him. The act ends with  
the king's instructions to his minister to probe further  
into the mystery surrounding the so-called Chandala  
britha. There has also been a talk between the parents  
of the princess and the ministers about the princess  
proposed marriage with her cousin, either maternal  
or paternal; the ministers favour the first naturally  
but that king - who is really the king cursed by a  
Brahmin to be a Chandala with his family for a  
year - is living outside their very capital in the Ghari  
and it was that very prince - the fact was unknown -  
who had wonderfully rescued the princess. Act I ends.

The II act opens with the nurse and the  
maid of Nurangi. They have decided that the  
princess will resort to excesses and even commit



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in the next act when the Vidyātharas are describing the battle for us, we find Rama described as graham iva bhaganesim (IV.6) and the army of the monkeys is referred to as Hariganapati sainyam. Anybody can understand that the underlined bits in the two contexts Ganesa and Ganapati could never refer to the elephant-headed God Vināyaka. Etymologically the words refer to the master of the group or gana, in the context, of the monkeys. Obviously, Bhasa does not seem to anything of this later God.

We now present a small English rendering of two scenes, one in III act and the other in V. In III act, Hanuman has already destroyed the Asokavana and he has dispatched to Yama-loka successive Rakṣasa hosts sent to punish him by Ravana. The latter is at his wits' end, when to his joy, news is brought that Indrajit has captured the monkey and is sending it to the Durbar Hall to announce his victory to his father. Ravana is rather alarmed and is talking to his



suicide if her heart's stealer would not be by her  
side. They manage to reach his apartments in the  
evening unobserved by him and are encouraged by  
a heavenly voice which assures them of the  
ultimate success of their selfimposed benevolent  
task. On the verandah in front of his house, the  
hero is trying hard to recollect the form of the girl  
whom he has rescued and this reassures them  
once again that the mission they have undertaken  
has started under good auspices. After some time  
of mental retrospect, Avimānaka suddenly realises  
that guests have come to his humble abode. He welcomes  
them with a look of embarrassment. They ask him if  
he is happy and he assures them that he could be  
so if only they assure him of their help. They ask  
him what he is thinking about and he with some  
confusion, confesses it is a scientific topic. On being  
pressed to name it, he confesses it is Yogaśāstra.  
The maid assures him they are also come there with  
the same purpose of yoga or union. To make a  
long story short, they encourage him in his venture,  
invite him to her apartment by supplying with the  
topography of the princess' apartments in the royal palace.



brother Vibhishana who is advising him to surrender  
Sita to Rama, but he turns a deaf ear to the suggestion.  
At this moment, the monkey is entered into the august  
presence, and let us hear the conversation.

Vibhishana - My lord! ask the monkey who he is.

Ravana - Oh monkey, who art thou? How dare you enter  
our Harem and destroy our lovely park, Arokavana?

Hanuman - Be pleased to listen:

Born of Anyana, I am the wind-god's son,

Sent by Rāghava and my name is Hanuman.

Vibhishana - Did you hear, my lord!

Ravana - What of that?

Vibhishana - Hanuman, What does the respectable Rama say?

Hanuman - Sire, hear Rama's command.

Ravana - What does he mean by saying command?

Damn it, let the monkey be killed!

Vibhishana - Be pleased, my lord. Ambassadors are  
holy in International Law. Rather let us hear Rama's  
message and then Your Majesty may act as you deem fit.

Ravana - Oh monkey, what does that human being say?  
Hanuman - Sire, listen. You might take refuge with  
Sankara, the best refuge or in a most formidable fort,



They assure him that if he once manages an entry unobserved, he might continue to live undetected for a long time. They depart after assuring him of their whole-hearted support and also after receiving an assurance that he will come at midnight. Then Vidusaka, his Brahmin friend, now joins him; when he is informed of their impending night adventure, he is naturally apprehensive of the dangers that might beset their path, but Avimaraka reminds him of his erstwhile prowess whereby he had defeated a giant in the form of a goat and was so named. They spend the time till sunset in a friend's house in the city. They spend the time till sunset in a friend's house in the city and the act ends.

The II<sup>nd</sup> act shows us the princess and her maids in a conversation. The former is trying to elicit what sort of reply the so-called Chandala rescuer had given to the representation made to him on her behalf, but in her absent-mindedness, she has asked some other maid and she without understanding, she has asked some other maid; and the latter without understanding the implication refers to some other servant who had not prepared the parrot cage.



or even in the world's underneath; but my excellent arrows will pierce all the limbs of your body and dispatch you to Yama's abode.

Ravana. (sneeringly) - Ha! Ha! Ha! The heavenly hosts with their celestial weapons were overpowered by me, all the gods are my obedient servants; I am Paundrasta who has carried away triumphantly the Pushpaka vimāna; how can a mortal dare destroy me!

Hanuman - Mighty as thou art, sire, why did you steal Rama's wife stealthily?

Vibhishana - Well said, Hanuman; oh best of Rakshasas, you enticed Rama away by a trick, disguised as a beggar and eloped with her, is it not?

Ravana - Vibhishana, are you turning traitor?

Vibhishana - Be pleased my lord; listen to my salutary advice. Offer up Raghava's wedded wife. I do not wish that our family should be destroyed by noble thee.

Ravana - Vibhishana, away with fear!

How can the lion with the long mane be mauled by a deer?  
Or an infuriated and mighty elephant be killed by a fox?

Hanuman - O Ravana, is it proper for thee with thy sinking fortunes to speak of Raghava thus? For heavens sake, do not perish.



The princess asks for the time; she is told dusk has  
set in; she orders the maid to prepare the bed for  
her. The maid assures her she has already arranged  
the bed. She is unnecessarily chided for her supposed  
laziness and they proceed to the sleeping apartment.  
The maids misunderstand that the princess is over-  
joyed at the prospect of her marriage with Kāsivāja-  
putra whose proposal has just then been accepted  
by her parents and even the auspicious *nakṣatram*  
for the celebration of the marriage had been decided upon.  
But the princess has definitely set her face against  
that marriage. The despondent princess slowly relaxes  
herself and dozes off into a small nap. On the  
other side of the stage, sufficiently in a distant  
corner, Arimara also enters, sword in hand,  
and dressed as a thief, readily equipped for any undue  
misadventure. It is in this context that Bhāsa advises  
men through his hero to put forth assiduously  
their efforts and exhibit their manliness irrespective  
of the ultimate success or defeat, all the while  
trusting in God's helpful attitude. After meeting some  
small mishaps and carefully avoiding the right



33  
The vilest of the night wandering Rakshasas, Ravana!  
With all your merits exhausted, how dare you speak  
of the heroes, unmatched and brave and almost  
equal to Indra of heaven, the are lord of the world?  
Ravana - How dare he speak thus? Let him be killed.

or rather, an ambassador should not be killed.  
Sankukarna, let his tail be set fire to and then  
release him.

Sankukarna. As your Majesty orders! Monkey, this way!

Ravana - Or Come this side.

Hanuman, At your service, sire.

Ravana. Let that mortal be told in my name:

Rama, you have been overpowered by me since I  
have plundered your wife. If you have the might give  
me deserving battle.

Hanuman. In a short time thou wilt see your Lanka  
with all its lovely gopurams sacked by Rama's mighty  
bow, and your lovely pleasure parks destroyed by monkeys.

Ravana (Sneeringly) drive this monkey from my presence.

(Rakshasas drive away the monkey - Hanuman's Exit).

Shibhirana. Be pleased to listen, my lord! I wish to offer  
some salutary advice.



watchmen on the way, Arimāraka lets himself  
 into the prince's apartments to be welcomed as pre-  
 planned by the maid Nalinikā who was waiting for  
 him. She quietly leads him on to the bed of the 'Sleeping  
 Beauty' and instructs him to sit softly and silently  
 by her. 'Sweet is success after toil' muses the hero  
 and starts gazing, to his heart's ~~anguish~~ <sup>completely</sup> satisfaction.  
 In her sleep, the princess is worried at the prospect of her  
 sweet love being detected and asks whether she has uncon-  
 sciously uttered anything in her sleep which might disclose  
 her secret love. Nalinikā assures her (who is yet with her  
 eyes closed) that she has not done any such thing. The  
 bewitched hero stands observing all this to become more  
 and more spellbound and reaps the reward of his nightly  
 escapade. The princess again asks for the time, even now with  
 her eyes closed and she is informed it is midnight. She now  
 asks the maid to embrace her and the maid silently pushes  
 the hero and instructs him to respond. The latter willingly  
 does so; the heroine realises her mistake but only too late  
 and trembles like an aspen leaf, only to be reassured by  
 the hero. The nurse enters at this moment to inform  
 that she has arranged two beds for them inside the  
 bedroom and the happy pair quietly walk in. The silent



Ravana - If that be palatable, we hear.

Vibhishana - I should like to think that our family is brought to the brink of ruin by your act.

Ravana - Why?

Vibhishana - Because of your Majesty's perverted policy.

Ravana - What is my perverted policy?

Vibhishana - Why, this Sita episode itself.

Ravana - What of that?

Vibhishana - So much of sin, too.

Ravana - Your last word too seems to imply something more. But with it.

Vibhishana - (quibbles) - That very thing.

Ravana - Vibhishana, why hide, I swear to thee by all I hold sacred, if thou dost not speak the truth.

Vibhishana - Your Majesty must grant me a chhaya  
(immunity from punishment).

Ravana - granted - Speak.

Vibhishana : you are out for a war with a mighty enemy.

Ravana (angrily) - What! What! a mighty enemy indeed!

This vile Rakshasa, a fifth columnist 'dares call me a coward. Who is here? I wish not to see this inimical fellow on whom my good brotherliness is wasted. Let him be necked out.



13  
princess is being slowly reassured by the hero that  
they are now having the Sapta padī, the traditional  
and sacred seven steps solemnizing the marriage  
and the princess silently nods her approval as it were  
and they walk in together hand in hand with their pāni  
grahana ceremony solemnized. The act ends happily.

The act starts with the information that the  
happy pair had their Elysian joys in the night. Though  
the day has sufficiently advanced in the morning, the princess  
has not opened the door of her apartment and another  
maid who has no inkling into the latest secret is alarmed.  
Wonderfully however, with the connivance of the two  
maids, the pair manage their secret connubium  
for almost a year, but after that the minister  
has some inkling about these nefarious episodes;  
the guards in the antahpura are strengthened and  
again with their connivance, the hero cleverly manages  
to elude the gaze of the police and escapes. The  
maids give us this information in a Pravesikā  
the beginning and inform us that Princess Kṛanfi  
finds it very difficult to carry <sup>on</sup> her existence. The  
act proper starts with Arimānaka, the desperate  
hero at his wittend. His one anxious thought is



Vibhishana - My lord: be pleased. I myself will go. I have been punished. Innocent as I am, I depart. Putting aside feeling of passion and anger, act as thou wilt. (walking up) Today alone will I resort to that lofty mortal and will certainly restore the sinking fortunes of our Rakshasa family brought to the brink of ruin! [Exit.

This next scene is from Act where Ravana first tries remonstrate with Royalty (personified as a woman of Lanka who is slowly trying to go away). Later a servant brings two false heads of Rama and Lakshmana as per Ravana's instructions to frighten Sita. Fortunately for her Indragit's death is just then announced. Let us hear Ravana.

Ravana. Oh! don't go. This lady Lanka with a fresh lotus in her hand was captured by me after defeating Ravana in battle. She is now abandoning my home. Stay! Stay! respectable lady! you don't go. What do you say - You leave me to go to Rama. He upon you, thou wert captured by force in Ravana's abode. Even now will I capture thee after killing Ravana in battle!



about the desperate princess he has left behind. He  
decides to give up his life somehow praying sincerely  
for her union at least in the next birth at least. But  
he finds that fire is simply embracing him and is only  
cooling him since in reality he was Fair-brother's son.  
He now prepares to let himself down a big precipice;  
exactly at this moment, Anandya dhara happens to pass  
that way in the sky along with his wife. He sees the  
hero in such a desperate condition, understands his  
heart's anguish through his divine powers and sym-  
pathising with him, offers him a ring with which he  
can continue to live undetected and invisible in the  
princess' palace as before. The ring is a magic ring  
enabling the wearer and his friend to become invisible  
and the hero gratefully accepts the ring and his  
old happy life is once again restored, but alas! he has  
no opportunity of publicly announcing himself as  
the princess' legally married husband. The IV act ends  
with the Vikrisaka also inside the princess' apartment,  
exactly reintroducing the conditions of the end of IV act  
and the hero is unable to cut the Gordian knot,  
trying to find his way into the princess' palace.  
The IV act starts with the desperate princess

and Kurangi on one side and Arimāraka and his  
friend in another. The princess, mentally deciding to



What if she goes! Let her go. What do I care for her. Let me now  
try to seduce Sita. (Passionately) Oh! the unparalleled  
strength of Cupid!

My eyes look at Sita's face and forget sleep,  
My emaciated body eager to embrace her has become pale,  
Even in respect of pleasant things, my affliction is roused,  
Ravana who conquers the three worlds is routed by Cupid!

(Approaching Sita)

Oh Sita, possessed of eyes, wide like the lotus,  
Oh mistress of my heart! forget your love towards a  
mortal! See thy lord and Lakshmana felled in battle by  
me!  
Sita - Thou art a fool, trying to balance the Mount  
Mandara on thy palm.

(Enter a soldier Rakshasa).

Rakshasa - Here are the heads of these mortal princes, Rama  
and Lakshmana killed in battle by Prince Indrajit.

Ravana - Now, I say, look at them!

Sita - Alas! my lord! (faints).

Ravana - Sita, terminate your affection towards this  
dead person and obtain abundant riches even today,  
this very instant.

Sita - Alas! my lord! Looking up at the fresh, lotuslike  
and upturned eyes of my Lord, I survive, hardhearted as



put an end to her life, tries to commit suicide, sending  
 away Nalinikā on some pretext, asking her to get  
 ready the ~~up~~ <sup>up</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~na~~ <sup>na</sup> or the showerbath for her. The  
 maid has suspected some ulterior purpose in the  
 princess' mind, but does not expect that she would  
 put an end to her life too soon and departs. ~~Exactly~~  
 at that moment, the Queen, the mother of the princess,  
 hears of her daughter's 'headache' and sends some  
 'Amrutayan' to be applied to the head. The princess  
 pretends to accept the medicine gratefully and hastily  
 sends away the maid, asking her to quicken the  
 upasānā that was being fit ready. Finding that  
 she is all alone now, the princess prepares to strangle  
 herself with her upper part of the saree; unfortuna-  
 tely for her, a thunderclap unnerves her and she  
 cries out to be helped by the invisible hero who was  
 always observing her keenly. He embraces her and she  
 feels her agony vanishing. The Vidhisaka is also there  
 and the entry of Nalinikā at the moment is barred  
 by the fact that the princess has bolted the room from  
 inside as a preliminary to fulfilling her long cherished  
 desire. Avimārika is able to recognise Nalinikā's voice  
 and softly admits the wondering, though happy maid.



37

I am. Where art thou gone? my lord, throwing me into a sea of sorrow? I am not dying even now. Oh God, if this could be false! Friend (addressing the servant), with that sword with which you severed my Lord's heart, cut off mine, also.

Ravana. (Roastingly) Evidently when that base man (Rama) along with his brother has been killed by Indrajit,

who can dare rescue you?

(Inside is heard the cry, by Rama, by Rama)

Sisi - Live long (heaves a sigh).

(entering)

Another Rakesh (in confusion) - by Rama, by Rama.

Ravana. What! What! (contemptuously), why bother about

Rama?

Rakesh - May your Majesty be pleased! In my eagerness to inform an urgent matter, I did not bother about the circumstances.

Ravana - But with your urgent news! What has that mortal ascertained?

Rakesh - The Maharaja should deign to listen. That man of mighty prowess has routed your armies and accompanied by his brother Lakshmana has today killed your son Indrajit.



16

inside. Naturally explanations follow; the unexpected heavy rains make them all go inside and the act ends happily, but leaving the couple to continue their incognito life alone inside the princess's apartment. We might digress a little here and explain that the scene in which the princess tries to strangle herself only to be rescued by her invisible lover is imitated by Sri Harsha in his *Nagananda* Act II.12. Where the heroine's attempt to strangle herself is foiled by the hero in a lovely *śloka*

काँठे हारकृतयोग्ये येन पाशस्तवापि विः ।  
गृहीतः सापेक्षोऽयं सकथं मुञ्चते हरः ॥

The VI act continues to tell us that the dramatist who found that the introduction of a magic ring could not make the drama end happily has to introduce another supernatural element, viz the sage Narada to bring about a happy denouement. The Act starts with a *Praveśaka* which introduces a small complication. Dhātrī, the nurse of Kurangi, who is in the know of the secret union of the princess and Arimāraka from the beginning, is worried that a small last moment hitch has come up in that the absence of the family of Visvasena (for that is the real name of Arimāraka), the proposal from the



Ravana. What you wicked fellows! afraid of battles!  
What? He who has defeated all the gods headed by  
Indra, his my Indrajit, you say, has been killed by an  
ordinary mortal?

Raksase - Be pleased, your Majesty! Could I dare to  
utter an untruth with reference to the Crownprince  
before your Majesty?

Ravana - Alas! my son Meghanada (faints & falls)

Raksase - Be consoled, my lord (fans him).

Ravana (recovering) - Alas! my child! the Fright of  
all the worlds! Expert in archery! you had trampled  
under foot the enemy hordes headed by Indra!  
brave, obedient, pastmaster in war, why had thou  
departed, leaving me all alone! (again faints)

Raksase - Alas! the Conqueror of the three worlds,  
Lankā's lord has been brought to such a pass by over Fate!

The scene goes on like this, but enough has been  
translated to show how Ravana wants to tantalise  
Sita into submission, but Fate itself tantalises him!



17  
Kastiraja prince has been viewed with favour by  
Kurangi's father; Bhūtika, the minister was therefore  
sent to escort the Queen Sudarśanā (sister of the  
father of Kurangi) and her son Jayavarmā to the  
city of Kuntibhoja. Vasumitrā, another maid, comes  
here to inform them that an auspicious day for Kurangi's  
marriage with her cousin Jayavarmā was also fixed.  
But there is also a ray of hope inasmuch as the father  
of the Samvira prince Visvaseva was also arrived that  
day to report that he and other members of his family  
were freed from the curse of an horrible sage  
but the prince, his son was mysteriously away.  
The two maids depart hoping that a happy solution  
might be somehow found.

The Act proper starts with Samvirarāja,  
escorted by Bhūtika into Kuntibhoja's presence.  
The long separated relations naturally embrace  
each other and the Samvira King informs his brother-  
in-law that though they are now happy being freed  
from a curse, the absence of the son Visvaseva now  
is the only thought which oppresses his heart. The  
detail of the curse as a result of which the entire  
family had to live as Chandala, in a chari are  
now explained and Bhūtika explains that he has  
just now also escorted Visvaseva's mother into the



The five one-act dramas in their natural order deserve our next consideration. They are 'gems of the purest rare serene' and allow fullest possible scope for the exhibition of the poet's dramatic skill. They are Madhyamavyayoga, Duta Vākya, Duta Ghatotkacha, Karna bhāra, and Urubhanga. One character alone is the most important in each one of these; for example, Ghatotkacha in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, Kṛṣṇa in the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Karna in the 4<sup>th</sup> and Duryodhana in the last. Though the Bharata epic story is mainly followed in them, there are certain episodes not known in the original at all. These episodes invest a wonderful charm and we summarise them and translate a few select scenes here and there.

The first is Madhyamavyayoga and refers to the Vyayoga or dilemma about a madhyama. Bhima is the madhyama or the middle son of Kunti and the drama cleverly brings in ~~three~~ such middle sons together dramatically. Later



Queen's apartment. After some mutual explanations of  
 past events, Kuntibhoja wants to know how it was that  
 Vinusena had earned the title of Arimāraka and  
 the episode of the prince's killing with his bare hands  
 a Rākṣasa in the form of a foat which was causing so  
 much destruction to human life is narrated. Kuntibhoja  
 is really happy to realise that the person who has  
 rescued his daughter some time ago is his own brother-in-law's son, Vinusena, who has also added to his fame  
 by killing a mighty cannibal in the form of a foat.  
 Bhūtika has thoroughly investigated all possible  
 places where possibly the prince might be found and  
 is driven to the inevitable conclusion that the  
 prince is now living somewhere with the help of  
 supernatural powers. At this very moment, as  
 though to confirm the truth of Bhūtika's investigation, Nārada walks in to be welcomed by  
 all with due honours and explains he has  
 understood they are worried because of the  
 strange absence of the Samvira prince. He  
 orders Bhūtika to bring Sudarśanā into the room  
 and Sudarśanā is supremely happy to find  
 that the divine sage Nārada is come to bless  
 her son's marriage with Kuraṅgi. In her presence



40  
dramatists like Bhavabhuti or Bhatta Narayana  
refer to Arjuna as the Madhyama-pandava Counting  
the sons of Mādrī also, but almost all of Bharata's  
heroes are madhyamas like Bhīma. This definition  
of such stalwart heroes refers to their being  
'bhujāyudha-pradhānas' or their fighting with  
their hands alone as their weapons and his  
favourite examples are Bhīma and Balarama -  
Pancharātra III.14 - *drāveṇa durbhīṣṇam samare-  
prayātau kṣāyudhaśchaiiva Vṛkodaraścha*. The  
way in which these three madhyamas are brought  
together is entertaining. A small Brahmin family  
consisting of the old parents and three sons is  
proceeding to the next village for an upanayana  
ceremony in a relation's house. Naturally one  
'madhyama' is among them. Ghatotkacha, Hidimba's  
son, waylays them; he may not literally be a  
madhyama, but being Bhīma's son, he might  
indirectly inherit the title from his father. [Bhāsa  
himself seems to have used the word madhyama



Narada invites them to get their mysteries explained; they all naturally ask 'Why is Vishnusa not seen?' The sage mysteriously answers 'He is preoccupied with his marriage' and the intrigued Kuntibhoja dashes the next question 'Where is the marriage celebrated?' The sage coolly answers 'In Vairantya nagara'. The bewildered Kuntibhoja rushes on with the next question 'Whose son-in-law is he then?' and Narada calmly replies 'Kuntibhoja's'. This explanation takes their breath away and Kuntibhoja now asks 'How is it, is he then my son-in-law?' The sage then explains that their Gandharva Vivāha had followed soon after the rescue of the princess by the prince and that in the beginning the prince had entered by sheer might and escaped later; but now he was living there by his magic power. Naturally Kuntibhoja wishes that the marriage should be solemnised in all pomp with legal rites but Narada satisfies him that the Fire-god is a witness to the marriage in a mysterious sense. Narada now directs Bhūtika to go and escort the pair into their presence. In the meanwhile, Kuntibhoja explains to Narada that he has a mental reservation inasmuch as he had invited that very day Jayavarmā and his mother to his palace



itself in a peculiar sense as referring to a stalwart  
 youth. The Amarakosa refers to the word in the femi-  
 nine gender as dr̥starajāh a young vigorous  
 woman in her full menstrual flow. This word  
 is not current now and Bhāsa seems to have  
 been familiar with the word in the masculine  
 gender also. Bhāsa's imagination has invented  
 a lively story by which Hidimbā manages to entice  
 Bhīma to her abode. She has heard that the five  
 Pandavas have come to the forest and is eagerly  
 waiting to welcome her husband in her home,  
 but she does so in a novel manner. She pretends  
 to fast on a particular day and instructs her son  
 to bring a sturdy youth for her feast the next  
 day. The son waylays the Brahmin family and  
 proposes to them that if they could spare one of  
 them for his mother's breakfast, the rest could  
 easily escape. Naturally the father offers himself up  
 to Ghatotkacha, but the latter says his mother  
 will not be satisfied with an old man. The mother  
 also is similarly rejected. When the eldest son offers



on the plea that he would give his daughter in marriage to that prince. In consequence of that invitation it was that these had arrived in the city that morning, escorted by Bhūtika. Narada instructs him to be aside for a while and calls Sudarsanā near him. She comes to be told in a whisper that Visnusena also has really her own son born of the Fire-God. The startled queen somehow has to nod her head accepting the truth of the assertion and Narada further explains how the boy was passed on to Suchetanā when she was blessed with a still-born son. "Later that very boy has won laurels by killing a Rākṣasa in foot-form and further later still, he rescued the princess from the elephant, won her through sheer might, but later when found out, fled away, was protected mysteriously and is now again, with the help of supernatural powers, mysteriously wedded to that very princess. After all, he is your own son. Accept the marriage as a settled fact and explain that Kurangi is older in age to Jayavarmā. Kurangi's younger sister, Sumitrā, can be married to Jayavarmā." This is accepted by Sudarsanā and now the thy Visnusena and Kurangi, escorted by Bhūtika enter the hall. Visnusena is able to recognise



himself, the father says he cannot bear separation from him and the mother is similarly attached to the youngest. By a process of elimination, the middle son understands he is unwanted and offers himself up as the proposed victim and is accepted. Before starting however, he says he will drink some water to quench his thirst in a neighbouring lake and is permitted to go. But desirous of delaying his own death by a few minutes at least, he spends his time sightseeing and Ghatotkacha becomes impatient and asks for the name of that boy. On being informed that the name is madhyama, he calls out at the top of his voice, asking him to present himself. So it happens Bhima hears this in his morning round, and since he is also a madhyama, he also comes up. Then Ghatotkacha looks at him surprised. Bhima assures him he is the only madhyama. The old Brahmin understands he must be the Kalmasya madhyama and humbly requests him to save them from this Rakshasa-like person.



Nārada who sees that everything ends happily by renouncing crowning element. At Kuntibhoja's instance, he bows before the divine sage, who blesses the new couple. The couple prostrate before Kuntibhoja and lastly the prince prostrates before his father who once again instructs his son to prostrate before his maternal uncle, who is now his father-in-law also. Nārada instructs the couple to prostrate before Sudarśanā whose motherly affection for her boy is now rekindled and the drama ends happily with the future marriage of Jayādevī and Sumitrā happily settled now itself. The usual Bhārata Vākya or prayer for welfare of Kṛṣṇa and Brāhmaṇas brings it to an end.

The drama exhibits similarities with various stories narrated in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. For example, the exchange of the child of Sudarśanā with Suchetanā's still-born baby reminds us of the exchange of Devakī's baby in Nandāśopas' hut. The story of Animāraka's stealthy life in Kuruṅgi's apartments reminds us of Aniruddha in Uśā's apartments. Dr A. Venkata-subbiah refers to a curious Buddhist parallel to this Animāraka = Elakamāraka story in Kuntala Jātaka V. 412 - Fausbøll's Edn. - Indian Antiquary '31,



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The other real madhyama also turns up in the mean-  
while; Bhima is already determined to save the  
family and demands of Ghatotkacha the release  
of the Brahmin boy. When Ghatotkacha refuses, Bhima  
is surprised and slowly elicits the information that  
the Rakshasa boy is after all Hidimba's son. Bhima  
does not announce himself, but proposes to follow Ghatot-  
kacha in the place of the Brahmin boy. The self-respecting  
boy however refuses to allow such a handsome person  
as Bhima to be the cannibal's victim. Ghatotkacha is  
agreeable to the exchange, but Bhima quietly  
suggests that they should have a trial of strength  
before Ghatotkacha could take him to his mother.  
Both agree and fight, but Ghatotkacha feels his  
strength sinking. Bhima wishes to tickle  
his son and asks him whether his father about  
whom he was boasting was equal to any one of  
the mighty gods like Brahma, Siva, Krishna,  
Sakra or Subrahmanya or even Yama in respect  
of his might. The latter replies that he is equal to



p 113. The story may be summarised thus: Brahmadaatta once fought with and killed in battle a king of Kosala. His kingdom was annexed and the pregnant chief queen was married by him. When the queen was delivered of a handsome boy a few days later, she suspected that her new husband might get the boy murdered as he was the son of his enemy and so she instructed a nurse to cover the child in a piece of cloth and abandon it in a cemetery. The child's dead father became its guardian deity and silently instructed one of the goats to suckle the child. The goatherd slowly came to know of the child and passed it on to his wife since they were childless; but the goats in the herd began to die in twos and threes from that day. This made the goatherd apprehensive and he again abandoned it by putting the child in an earthen vessel and casting it adrift in a river. This vessel and the child therein were rescued by a Chandala who was also childless and adopted it. Later this handsome boy went with his supposed father, the Chandala to the king's palace and worked there along with his father. The princess Kuranjadi (Kuranjadi in 2 ms. Concluded by Fausboll) fell

↑ Bhima had instructed her at the time of his marriage: Adiparva 168, 17 - विज्ञेयतो मत्स्यकीदृशे मा प्रकाशयतीति । उत्तमसूरी गुणोपेतं गजैः ॥ वदतीति ॥ and Hidimbā, we feel, but acts up to this strict injunction.



all of them put together and Bhima purposely denies this.  
Ghatotkache now grandiloquently asks Bhima to take  
up his weapon and fight. Bhima replies his hands  
are his only weapons. Ghatotkache plucks up a  
mighty tree and <sup>and later of</sup> hurls ~~them~~ against Bhima, but the  
latter easily withstands it. Even in the fist-to-fist  
fight, Ghatotkache is worsted. Being at his wits' end,  
he thinks of his superior magical missiles to  
blind his adversary with. Because of his supernatural  
powers, he can easily procure water needed for the holy  
āchamana or the sipping of the water before discharging  
his māyapāśa which has been his mother's gift; Bhima  
at once is tied up mysteriously. But soon he recovers  
his selfpossession and asks the Brahmin for water  
from his waterbasin, does the āchamana likewise  
and repeats the vimochanamantṛa (to make the pāśa  
impotent) which he has been taught by Maheshwara.  
Ghatotkache finds himself powerless, reminds his  
adversary about his offer to substitute himself. Bhima  
readily consents to be led by his son to his mother's  
side, only to be warmly welcomed and prostrated to  
by his wife and son! ☞



23

in love with this handsome boy. She was the handsome daughter of King Brahmadatta. The two carried on an intrigue unsuspected by others. Brahmadatta came to know of this intrigue after some time and decided to punish the daring Chandala youth. The King of Kosala, the Guardian deity of the boy and his real father understood this and possessed the boy's mother and made her reveal that the boy was really her own son and not a Chandala as he appeared to be. This was further confirmed by Brahmadatta's secret enquiries and the king now blessed the marriage.

This story makes us conclude that Bhase and the Jātaka were no doubt based upon the same story; the Kathāsarikāgāra 112 - Verses 89 to 108 also narrate a similar story. Jayamangalā, the Commentary on Vākyāyana's Kāma-sūtra II. iv. 14 also seems to narrate a similar story. There are however some minor differences of detail. 1. The hero is called Elakamāraka in the Jātaka as goats were killed because of his supposed inauspicious entry into their fold. But in the drama, he kills a demon in the form of a goat; the Jayamangalā Commentary suggests



48

Dūta Vākya. The next one. Act drama, in which the central figure is Sri Krishna, is the Dūta Vākya. The title refers to the 'ambassador's word' and the drama starts with a Bhāṣa which informs us that Duryodhana is intending to convene a Cabinet meeting to discuss who the Commander of the Kurava hosts should be in the impending war with the Pandavas. Vaikarna, Uroadeva, his advisers, Bhisma, Drona, Sakuni, Karna and other important Kurava leaders are shown various seats in the assembly and Duryodhana requests them to name the fittest person to become the chief of his eleven Akshauhinis. All of them agree that Bhisma alone is best fitted for the post and this decision is ratified by Duryodhana. At this moment, the Kanchukian announces that Sri Krishna "Purusottama" has just then arrived from the Pandava camp for negotiations. The Emperor is incensed at the word Purusottama inadvertently slipped from the Kanchuki's lips and orders him to use his words more carefully. The Kanchuki apologises and announces that the Dūta or Messenger Kesava is arrived. Duryodhana then requests the assembly as to how best the reception to the Messenger should be arranged and every one is agreed that such a distinction



only to kill them.  
2 The Kathasaritsāgara does not give him any name, but calls him Mātanga Kumāra; the heroine is called Kurangi in the Nāṭaka and K.S.S. but her name is not given in the Jayamangalā, while in the Jātaka she is called Kurangavī or Kurangadevi. संस्कृत-कथासरित्सागरः - कुरंगवती सोतासु मिल  
3. There is nothing said in the Jātaka about Soat.  
4. She is a princess. The other versions

3. There is nothing like the  
killer's saving the life of a princess. The other versions  
however make out that he saved her from an elephant.  
This incident took place in a park in a city accor-  
-ding to the Jyōka mangō and the Nataka; according to

X.S.S. in a forest.

X.S.S. in a forest.  
There is nothing said in the Jataka about  
foot-killers saving the life of the princess. The  
other versions however make out that he saved  
her from an elephant. This incident took place  
in a park in the city.  
- Silaka make out that footkiller

4. The Nātaka and Jātaka make out that Goutkiller married the princess according to the Gandharva form, while the gūya too seems to suggest the same, while K.S.S. on the other hand, makes out that the marriage took place regularly.



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guished guest should be received with public honours. The  
king however is inclined to veto their unanimous decision  
and suggests that the so-called Messenger, the friend,  
philosopher and 'eye' of the Pandavas should be arrested.  
He even goes on to order that whoever dared stand up  
to honour the guest would incur his displeasure  
and would be punished twelve golden coins. He then  
instructs the Kanchuki to spread before him a picture  
of Drapadi's tresses being dragged by Dussāsana  
so that ~~he~~ might pretend to be absorbed in the  
picture when the diṭa was being ushered in so that  
he could avoid standing up to receive the guest. After  
this is done, the Kanchukin is asked to introduce the  
guest and the latter slowly walks in behind him.

The august guest slowly enters and the entire  
assembly, though fully remembering the severe displea-  
sure that would be caused to Duryodhana thereby,  
almost forgot the order and stood up in confusion.  
Kṛṣṇa naturally requested them in a dignified manner  
to be seated even as Duryodhana was murmuring  
sufficiently aloud reminding the assembly about his  
erstwhile threat to fine them. Kṛṣṇa now directly



5. Goat-Killer's real father was the king of Kosala according to the Jātaka; as per the other 2 versions, it was Agni.

6. Goat-Killer's mother was a Brahmana maiden as per the K.S.S. and a Brahmana's young wife as per the Jāya. As per the Jātaka, she was the chief queen of the King of Kosala and of King Brahmadatta and as per the Nāṭaka, the queen of Kāśirāja.

7. Goat-Killer's foster father was a Sātara as per the Jāya, while as per the Jātaka and the K.S.S., he was a Chāṇḍala. As per the Nāṭaka, he was a Kṣatriya, who temporarily for the period of a year, was a Chāṇḍala. Of these 4 versions, that of the Jāya is most free from supernatural elements; it seems to be nearest to the original form of the story. The versions of the Nāṭaka and Jātaka seem to diverge widely from this original; that of the Nāṭaka has in it a great number of supernatural elements; there can be no element that they are mostly due to the author of the play, and in order to embellish the plot. The divergences in the Jātaka seem to be due to what may be called the habit of caricaturing, which the Buddhist writers indulged in when writing Brahmanical stories; compare



addresses Duryodhana if he is <sup>47</sup> seated and the latter suddenly slips from his seat receiving an electric shock as it were and realises that the ambassador he has to deal with is a tricky fellow; putting on an air of courtesy meekly requests him to be seated. Elated with his initial triumph, Krishna takes his seat dramatically, directing the others in the assembly to be seated. His attention is naturally drawn to the artistic picture spread before Duryodhana; he realises at once what it is and chides the latter for publicly exhibiting their own family disgrace. He even orders the Kanchukin to remove the picture and Duryodhana has to signify his approval. Not realising the lesson of this initial defeat, Duryodhana sneeringly inquires after the welfare of 'five sons of the respective gods' and their dependents. Krishna of course understands the irony but pretends to take no notice of the same; he affectionately made kind inquiries of the welfare of the Kauravas; he then proposes that the Pandavas who have suffered untold miseries in the stipulated period of their exile should be given their legitimate share of the ancestral property. Duryodhana takes offence at the word *dāyādya* or



26

Krishna's story, 5 Pandavas related by the Jātaka  
V 426. 7 of Faustoll's Edn and also the story of the  
Andhaka Vṛṣṇis related in the Ghata Jātaka No 454;  
IV. P. 794). Dr Venkatasubbiah concludes that  
under the circumstances it is not too far fetched  
to conjecture that the name of the story was  
originally Avikumāra and that this was in course  
of time corrupted into Avimāraka and explanations  
then invented in support of the corrupted name.  
It cannot be exactly guessed whether Bhāsa's  
original was Guṇāṭhya's Brhat Kathā which is  
reputed to have existed in Paisāchi language.  
Similarly the story in Bhāsa's Udayana dramas  
does not seem to agree fully with the K.S.S.  
and one is tempted to hazard the guess that  
it might agree with Guṇāṭhya's original as  
perhaps preserved in its Tamil version in  
the Perungadai. As a matter of fact, Tamil  
scholars of repute like Pūrnalingam Pillai  
in his Tamil literature published by the  
Bibliotheca Munierpallam 1929 definitely  
suspects that the Paisācha work of Guṇāṭhya  
is the Tamil Perungadai itself. → (Tamil name)  
Abhisheka



division of ancestral property since the Pandavas were  
born illegitimately after his uncle was cursed into not  
sharing the bed with his aunt. Krishna at once rebuts  
this by declaring that at this rate even his father also  
was illegitimately born after Vichitravirya's death and  
therefore could not have inherited the kingdom. Such patri-  
cidal hatred was only suicidal and Krishna rounds up  
by requesting Duryodhana to comply with Yudhishthira's  
message. Duryodhana proudly retorts that kingdoms are  
not to be begged but acquired through personal valour  
and even suggests that their meek policy deserved  
nothing better than a hermit's position in a forest. Krishna  
requests him not to use such harsh words against his  
own kith and kin which was reprehensible from the moral  
viewpoint of the Smritis. Duryodhana at once retorts  
that Krishna had himself started his career by murdering  
his own maternal uncle (father's sister's husband). Krishna  
directs him not to bring in extraneous matter into the  
present context, silencing his adversary by saying that  
Kamsa had killed his own sister's children, imprisoned  
his ~~own~~ father, and so deserved no better fate. But the latter  
persisted in declaring that Kamsa was deceived and steadily



## Purāṇas

Most of the śūtras like Paṇḍita are included to  
assign the 3rd cen. AD to the Markandeya Purāṇa  
though the Devī Mahātmya section was not added to it  
till after the 6th cen AD as Farquhar p. 150 points out.  
Next in order come the Padma, the Bhavishya, and the  
Brahma, Verses from which have been freely quoted  
in the landfrants of 5th cen AD (JRAS. 1912-p 248 ff).  
With reference to the Padma, which is encyclopaedic in  
character, though Kālidāsa made use of it, & the frequent  
mention of the term Īśvara therein, make it probable that  
a part of the text was known from the 4th cen AD in the Marāṭhī  
country, it will be more reasonable if we can see an  
assignment a period beginning from 4th cen AD rather than a  
particular date for the composition of the work. In regard to  
the Bhavishya Purāṇa, Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra of the  
5th cen BC. quotes from a śūtra II 24.6, yet the  
Bombay Edn. of the text seems to have been sufficiently  
revised at the court of Jayachandra of Kanauj in 12th cen AD.

Then come in the Vayu, Matsya, Viṣṇu & Brahmānda  
which on grounds of historical data furnished by these  
texts, have been assigned to 5th cen AD by Smith and  
Paṇḍita. So most of the Purāṇas as we have them today  
might have been compiled from the 3rd. to the 5th cen AD.



demanded Kṛṣṇa's<sup>29</sup> abstention from boasting about his own  
prowess particularly since he had fled as a coward to save  
himself from Jarāsandha, Kamsa's father-in-law. The latter  
once again sternly directs him to follow parliamentary  
rules in a legally constituted Assembly and once again  
requests him to forget the past and welcome his brothers.  
Duryodhana repeats his charge that the Pāṇḍavas  
are illegitimate sons of the various gods and human  
beings, <sup>like him</sup> could not claim any kinship with them at all.  
Kṛṣṇa then mentally decides to frighten him with  
harsh words and reminds him of Arjuna's various  
exploits, particularly the one in which Duryodhana himself  
was formerly saved in the Ghoṣayātā episode from Chit-  
sena by Arjuna himself. Duryodhana refuses to be fright-  
ened by this intimidation and declares that he could  
never be cowed down into surrendering even a small  
blade of grass from the kingdom inherited by him from his  
father. He further insults him as a coward who should not  
even be talked to according to the Dharmasāstras since  
he has killed women, horses, bulls, and even wrestlers  
and even declares he would not talk to persons like  
him. Kṛṣṇa feels highly insulted, declares the Kuru race



The Skanda has been assigned to the middle of the  
7th cen AD by Harabhasad Sastri - JASB 1893 p. 250.  
Vaidya is in favour of assigning the compilation of the  
Bhāgavata to 900 AD (JBRAS. 1925 I. p. 144).  
The Agni, Garuda, + Narada puranas, saturated with  
Tantric doctrines and influenced as it is by the Bhakti  
cult cannot be placed earlier. No definite date has been  
suggested for the compilation of Vāmana, Kūrma, Varāha,  
+ the Linga, but these must have come into being by  
1000 AD as their existence is testified to by Al Beruni  
in 1037 AD. The Brahma Vairavarta seems to have been  
thoroughly recast after the Chaitanya movement in  
Bengal; it might be safely assigned to the 15th cen,  
though its kernel might have been ready in the 10th  
cen.



is out for extermination<sup>50</sup> and openly announces that he was walking out of the Assembly. Duryodhana instructs his brothers to arrest the so-called Ambassador who had transgressed the bounds of ordinary messengers; when the brothers fail, he requests his uncle, to bind him. Finally he tries to bind him himself, but Kṛṣṇa exhibits his Viśvarūpa or universal form and the ropes with which others try to bind him are found on their own bodies the next moment. Duryodhana goes out to fetch his bow with which he proposes to shoot arrows at him. Ravi Varma, the famous Malabar artist, has made this scene popular by basing his picture on this drama and the popular epic account is also completely coloured by this scene. The next scene in which the various āyudhas of Kṛṣṇa and Garuda appear deniers of helping Kṛṣṇa is obviously spurious since they come and go without serving any purpose.

Just when Kṛṣṇa is about to go, the old Emperor Dhṛtarāṣṭra comes up in haste and welcomes the latter by offering him him arghya and pādya.







The third one-act drama invents an interesting episode about Ghatotkache's embassy soon after Abhimanyu's death. As we have it, the epic does not refer to any such embassy and we may suppose that this was woven in his fertile brain to fulfil his eagerness for *Sau-bhāratam* or goodbrotherliness. The poet glorifies the 'Madhyama' Abhimanyu and his Cousin Ghatotkache; both of them could be referred to as 'madhyamas' in the making' or 'madhyama <sup>precocious</sup> kids' and seem to receive the title by courtesy as it were from their fathers.

The Sūtradhāra departs after informing us that Abhimanyu was killed by the combined efforts of the Kaurava heroes when Arjuna was engaged in his fight with the Samśaptakas in another corner of the battlefield. The Kaurava hosts are naturally apprehensive of Arjuna's terrible retaliation. A messenger is instructed to inform this news to Dhritarashtra and the act proper shows us the blind old King talking to his wife, daughter Dussala and a doorkeeper servant. The old king has just heard the announcement and he is naturally afraid that the repercussions of this







this death will be serious. His wife also is worried that their family is going to be destroyed in this war of the brothers. Both of them are very much grieved on account of the death of their grandson and Dussalā joins in the conversation to say that the person who has made Uttarā a widow is out to make his own wife also a widow (not knowing that her own husband had dealt the last stroke which had killed Abhimanyu). The blind King is now eager to know who has brought this sorrowful news and the messenger announces his own name as Jayadratha. The King passes on to the next question: "Who was it that dealt the final blow? Who was it that careless of his own life, made his body the fuel for the fire of the anger of the Pandavas?" The messenger replies that there many 'big guns' conspiring together, but the immediate cause of the death was Jayadratha, the husband of Dussalā. Naturally the old King and particularly the daughter start crying. The blind father asks who it is that weeps and the servant informs him it is his own daughter. The father is worried that her husband should have made himself the







target for Arjuna's bow.<sup>83</sup> Dussilā wants permission to go to  
Uttarā, Abhimanyu's wife to apprentice herself to widowhood  
under her. Both the parents <sup>are</sup> trying to console her, saying that  
her husband is yet living, but they realise the hopelessness  
of her case particularly since Abhimanyu was the darling  
of Krishna and his elder brother Balarama of the mighty  
plough over and above his being the pet son of the Pandavas.  
Dhritarashtra wants to know how it was that Arjuna could  
allow his son to be killed and is then informed that Arjuna  
was engaged in a war with the Samsaptakas at one  
end and Abhimanyu was engaged in his fight at the  
other end of the battlefield. The other Pandavas were waiting  
to prepare the funeral pyre so that Arjuna could have a  
last glimpse of the corpse. Dhritarashtra then proposes that  
they might go to the river to Ganga to perform water liba-  
tions (tarpana) for the dead. At this moment, Duryodhana,  
Dussāsana and Sakuni walk in to pay their respects  
to pay their respects to their parents before starting for  
the battle. but they are surprised to see that the old  
man is not blessing them in return. Duryodhana at once  
asks his father why he is not blessing them and the  
father in a pathetic stroke that they are all out for







death, particularly their much beloved <sup>and only</sup> daughter will have to  
 face widowhood soon. Duryodhana wants to know why he  
 was particularly singling out Jayadratha and the father  
 replies that this Jayadratha had blocked ~~the~~ way for the  
 other Pandava uncles to come up to the boy's rescue. Dhritā-  
 rāstra roundly rates them for their having jointly  
 killed a young boy. (Bhatta Narāyana imitates this in Act  
 II of the Venisambhāra). Duryodhana at once retorts that he  
 Pandavas had similarly killed old Bhishma with false  
 alarms, but the father dismisses the idea of comparing  
 the two as ridiculous. The father emphasises the fact that  
 even the son of Arjuna had terrorised them and Arjuna  
 would certainly deprive them of their lives. Duryodhana  
 positively refuses to believe this and the father  
 reminds the son of Arjuna's various exploits in the  
 Nivāta Kawacha, Kirātārjunīya yuddha, Khāṇḍava forest  
 fire and Chitrāsena episodes, but the latter proudly  
 retorts that there are on his side redoubtable warriors  
 to match Arjuna. Dhritārastra asks him to name but  
 one such. Duryodhana refers to Karna and is ridicu-  
 cled by saying that Indra had taken the wind  
 out of Karna's sails by depriving him of his







armour, - and that he was <sup>ss</sup> under a curse. Sakuni at once  
retorts that the old King wants purposely to insult them and  
Dhritarashtra accuses this gambler as being the one man at  
the bottom of all this tragedy; at this moment is heard a terrible  
earthquake shock accompanied by a mighty crash and  
shooting stars lighting up the firmament. Dhritarashtra reminds  
them that Indra might have been at the back of all these  
potents since his grandson Abhimanyu was slain. Duryo-  
dhana sends the servant to ascertain he facts and he  
returns to say that Arjuna had just then vowed to kill  
the murderer of his son by next sunset. Duryodhana is  
particular to know what Arjuna has decided. Supposing  
he failed. He is informed that he has decided to enter fire  
along with his bow Gāndiva. Duryodhana is very happy  
and declares that with the help of Drona he would shield  
Jayadratha and frustrate Arjuna's exploits. (Exactly the  
same is echoed by Bhatha Nārāyana in his Veni Samhita).  
Dhritarashtra assures them that Krishna's eyes were vigi-  
lant enough and would track out Jayadratha from any  
nook and corner of the earth or the sky.

So far the story has faithfully followed the epic  
version but the next message brought by Ghatotkacha is







entirely new. Ghatotkacha ekes<sup>st</sup> announces himself as a messenger from Sri Krishna worried over Saubhadra's (Abhimanyu's) death. Duryodhana welcomes him. The envoy spies the grand father also in the group and prostrates before him. When Dhritarashtra stands up to hear Sri Krishna's message, the envoy respectfully requests him to be seated and proceeds: "The loss of one son has made Arjuna so much worried: at this rate we could imagine the misery of our grandfather on the death of all his sons as a result of Arjuna's anger. Therefore Sri Krishna advises that the hostilities be brought to an end at least at this stage." Dhritarashtra gives expression to his fear that Arjuna would certainly kill all the Kauravas; but the others present ridicule the idea. Duryodhana at once protests that Krishna is jealous of them and overestimates the might of Arjuna. All the same Ghatotkacha says he will have his say before he departs. Dussāsana protests that Duryodhana, the anointed Emperor will not listen to the message of a vassal. Ghatotkacha takes offence to the declaration that Sri Krishna is no anointed King and reminds them that the same Krishna had received the first Arghya in Yudhishtira's Rajisuya from Ashvama's hand and so was really King of all kings. Duryodhana does not want unnecessary words







to be wasted over this, but asks for the message. Ghatotkacha  
then delivers the same "Arjuna will sweep everything  
before him due to his grief and naturally the result  
will be the death of all the Kshatriyas. Lakshmi ridicules  
the idea saying that there was a wide gulf between  
boast and achievement. Ghatotkacha retorts that he cannot  
win any more victories by gambling and henceforward  
lives had to be staked and not gambling coins. Duryo-  
dhana is terribly incensed and insinuates that a Raksasa's  
son alone could exhibit so much cruelty and pride. The  
Raksasa boy hits back that the Kuravas were more  
cruel than they since they had not burnt their sleeping  
brethren, had not molested their brother's wife even to  
the extent of dragging her by the hair, and had not  
slain their brother's child (Abhimanyu here). Duryodhana  
insults him saying he is only a messenger whose  
simple business was that of a Post office by delivering a  
return message. Such insolent behaviour, he said, deserves  
only death but his position as a dhita conferred some  
special privileges of immunity from danger etc. The envoy  
is ready to lose his special privilege and asserts that  
he was not a weakling with his bowstring broken like  
Abhimanyu. With clinched fists and lips, he was standing,







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he declared, ready to welcome any ~~man~~ eager to visit Yama's abode. All jump to report, but the grand father's intervention deprives Ghatotkache of his eager itching desire to fight the 'big guns' and beard them in their own den. When the latter demands a return message, Duryodhana proudly retorts that the time is not opportune for threats and intimidations and that the proper reply could only be given on the battlefield. As yet undaunted, Ghatotkache refers to Srikishna's last message of adherence to duty and brotherly love to one's own kith and kin. He once again reminds them of Arjuna's vow that the next sunset would make them stand face <sup>to face</sup> with himself deputising as Yama on the battlefield.

This alone among the five one-act dramas is referred to as an 'utkrishikanka' in the Colophon. Some critics believed that this with the Madhyama Vyayoga as I and Udbhanga as III acts, might have been a three-act drama (like Panchanātra) and this was later utkrishita or released from the group. Why the other two are not similarly styled in the Colophons on this supposition is not clear. The actual word *utkrishita* again is not found before the last sloka.

Such one-act dramas are as expressive as the short



1 The Karmabhāra nāndī  
 नरभृगवतिवर्षीलोकनभान्तनरी-  
 नरदनुजसुपर्वकातपाताललोकः  
 करजकुलिशपालीमिलदेलेन्द्रवक्षः  
 सुरकिंकिवल्हना श्रीधरोऽस्तुमियैव॥

is noteworthy in having alliteration of र in the  
 second letter in each line. This regular राय is  
 a feature of the Pravidian languages, more  
 particularly in Kannada and Tamil. In Tamil  
 this is called ருஓ and is a necessary element  
 in prosody.



stories in English or French literature, presenting a dramatic translation of a single mood, and at the same time dramatic lyrics in prose and verse mixed together!

Kamalavar!

The title has ~~taxed~~ the brain of many an ingenious critic; some have translated it as (mental) worry, yet others as a heavy deadweight; we propose to combine all these ideas and compare the use of the word with the ancient Buddhist Jātaka (vol V. p 326) where we find the following sloka in its Prakrit form:

माता पिता च भ्राता च भगिनी ज्ञाति वा श्वकाः ।

सर्वे ज्येष्ठस्य ते भाराः शिवं जानीहि भारत ॥

The mother, father, brother, sister, Kinsmen and relations - all these are a weight on the forehead, the eldest. In Ancient India, in the joint-family system, the eldest had to look after the welfare of the whole family. From Bhāsa's standpoint, it is noted, it is Duryodhana that is the eldest, even elder to Yudhishthira. The epic had made Bhishma and Duryodhana born on the same day. It had represented Dhritarāstra as being constantly worried about his son's rights to the throne at least in succession to Yudhishthira, arguing that his son was born a few hours







before Bhima. But Ashara cleverly<sup>60</sup> made Duryodhana him-  
self elder even to Yudhishtira and with one stroke of his  
pen, cleverly banished all such worry from Dhritarashtra's  
mind. To Ashara, therefore, Duryodhana is the *pyestha* among  
the hundred and five brothers and the *pyestha's* mind was  
consequently worried over the problem of the protection  
of the dependent members of the family over and above  
his royal worries for the welfare of his subjects. If the  
Pandavas chose to deny themselves the brotherly protection  
which Duryodhana was ever eager to provide for them,  
he was not at all to blame. This is hinted at by Bhishma  
in *Pancharatra* I. 37) when he plaintively appealed to  
Duryodhana as the *pyestha* who should afford shelter  
and protection to the brothers who were now languishing  
in the forest along with the deer. The ~~blind~~ old thing  
calls his son after his thigh is broken on the battlefield  
the legal master of eighteen *Akshauhinis*. This number  
definitely suggests that the seven *Akshauhinis* of the Pandava  
army also were technically to be regarded as his as he is  
the *pyestha*. Duryodhana's *primo geniture*, in one word, entitles  
him to the entire patrimony. Now to the title *Yama*thara,







Just as Duryodhana's seniority in the senior line entails so many  
worries, Karna's ~~mind~~ is weighted down with worries driving  
away his peace of mind particularly before he starts for his  
last battle with Arjuna. The presentation of his Vimata Sakti  
by Indra to Karna actually occurs in the original in the Vana  
Parva 311<sup>th</sup> Adhyaya, long, long, before the actual commencement  
of the fratricidal war, but Bhāsa purposely shifts it to the  
present context where it can be easily utilised dramatic-  
ally. According to the original, again, Sūrya, the father, has  
come and warned his son Karna not to part with the  
celestial Kavachas if Indra were to ~~ask~~ for these, but here  
that part of the story is purposely withheld from us. Even  
the bargaining as found in the original - the way in which  
Karna says he would part with his Kavacha if only  
Indra would make a present of a mighty <sup>royal</sup> Sakti to him,  
is not to be met with here at all. Salya, the <sup>royal</sup> charioteer,  
is positively inimical and jeers him at every step in  
pursuance of his promise to his nephews, the twin sons of  
Mādrī; but according to Bhāsa, he is very sympathetic and  
even listens patiently to the old episodes, ending with so many  
discomfitures for Karna. He even tries to dissuade him  
from gifting away the Kavachas - the last and the most  
painful, ~~crowning~~ discomfiture. The discomfitures are







are listed in a progressive order" from birth to the present moment. His mother's disclosure to him has taken the wind out of his sails and after that there are a series of discomfitures, all dramatically narrated by Karna himself. Our hearts cry out in sympathy, "Oh! he deserved a better fate!" and we appreciate the title better as Karna's discomfitures. Karna is of course trying to do his very best for the sake of his master Duryodhana; he wants to capture Yudhishthira alive and defeat Arjuna, but the darling of misfortune is dogged by ill-omens and mental nightmares almost at every step!

### Urbhangha or Gadāyuddha.

In the original, the parents of Duryodhana do not see him alive after his thighs are broken on the battle-field. They come to see the dead bodies only long after. Vidura, Vidaveyasa and others have in the meanwhile discoursed to them on the inevitability and inescapability of fate, but the pentup feelings of hatred could not be easily suppressed and Dhrītarāstra's inner ideas are so easily palpable that Sri Krishna cleverly pushes Bhima away and substitutes his iron statue for the latter to embrace. Even that statue is crushed under the old King's



तस्याकृतदेहस्य पादयोर्निवात्यतः।  
युधिष्ठिरस्य नृपतेर्धर्मज्ञ दीर्घदाहिनी॥  
अङ्गुल्यगणि दृष्टो देवी पट्टान्तरेण सा  
ततः स कुन्तवीर्यतो दक्षिणीयनको नृपः॥



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mighty embrace. With respect to Gāndhārī also, she tried  
to looking through the blindfolding bandage across her  
eyes at Yudhishtira's feet and caught a glimpse of the  
white nails on the toe and other leg fingers and all these  
nails were blackened, the darśanīya or lovely nail became  
kṛnakha or ugly (vide slokas 5.7 of Strī Parva XV). But  
Kāsa has brought the parents direct into the battlefield and  
made the scene as pathetic as possible. Even Bhavabhūti's  
pather so famous in Sanskrit literature, cannot we  
dare say, approach this memorable scene of Duryo-  
dhana's death on the stage in its sublime simplicity.  
Duryodhana in the original is eager to have some retri-  
bution on the Pandavas and even definitely encourages  
Asvatthāman in his nefarious adventure, but here he  
even humbly requests the Halayudha or Balarama not  
to drive his mighty plough against the Pandavas. He  
wants them to survive so that they might perform  
the tarpana or water libations for him after his  
death, - the very Duryodhana who had publicly  
denounced the Pandavas as Kṣetrajās and illegal  
sons not entitled to any patrimony in Dūtā Vākya.  
Balarama in the original walks away in protest,  
but here he stays on right till the very end.



The original in the Sabhāparva सूतपर्व context where  
Bhima Vroś makes Bhima vow that he would smesh  
only the दाया or left thigh which he laid bare inviting  
Draupadi to sit thereon. It must have been Bhāse  
who for the first time referred to both the thighs being  
smashed by Bhima's judā; this must have been later  
made more popular by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa in the Veni  
Sambhā. Even Maitreya's curse in the Vanaparva  
is दायां भेद्यति in the singular number only.



Asvatthāman is forced to complain that Bhīma should have broken Duryodhana's māna or self-respect along with his thigh and his vow is overheard by both Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Balarāma who go only after Duryodhana's body has been carried away in a celestial plane. Earlier, again the Centon shows kicking of Duryodhana's crowned head by the vidēva Bhīma is purposely avoided; Kṛṣṇa pats on his own thigh to give Bhīma the hint to break Duryodhana's thigh, while in the original, it is Arjuna that strikes his left thigh in the gaze of Bhīma (Gadāyuddha Parva chap LIX.20). In the first scene, three soldiers describe the clubfight or the Gadāyuddha of Bhīma and Duryodhana and emphasise the hitting 'below the belt' by Bhīma; in the second Balarāma is dissuaded by Duryodhana from wreaking his revenge on the Pandavas; later he (Balarāma) stands aside overhearing the conversation between the fallen Duryodhana and his wives, parents and his son Duryodhana; the last scene shows us Asvatthāman entering and proposing to destroy Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, but even here Duryodhana though dying refuses to countenance any such countermove and dies.

Abhinavagupta seems to know this drama as Gadāyuddha.



Madhva in his Brhadāraṇyake bhāṣya remarks:

सर्वोपनिषदश्चैव पञ्चरात्रारण्यसंहिताः ब्रह्मसूत्राणि

वेदानां व्याख्यासारां च विस्तरः सर्वमेतज्जगत्तैव

निस्तृतं तुरगान्तरात् .



Among the Udayana dramas, Svapnavāsavadatta is the best; Pratinā is the superior among the Rima dramas, and Pancharātra best reflects his dramatic skill among the Bhārata dramas. This is a three-act drama, a rare dramatype noticed by Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra but since forgotten. The Uttara. jograhaṇa or the 'lifting of the cattle' from Virāṭa's Cowpen and their rescue by Uttara the crown-prince (really by Arjuna his charioteer) is the subject-matter exactly as borrowed from the original, but Bhasa's ingenuity has made the story entirely new and novel. In the original, the cattle lifting is without any purpose at all, while here the episode comes in as a counterblast to the Virāṭa king's not attending Duryodhana's sacrifice and insulting him thereby. This Duryodhana's sacrifice is not at all performed in the original and Bhasa wants us to understand that all kings invited for the function had to attend either in person or by proxy, non-attendance being interpreted in international circles as an insult to the



1 Duryodhana all along suspected Bhishma (and Drona) of partiality for the Pandavas. Earlier on the third day of the battle, ~~Duryodhana~~ <sup>Bhishma Parva</sup> said - 54<sup>th</sup> <sup>adhyaya</sup> 35 -

अनुम्राह्याः पाण्डुसुता नूनं तव पितामह (could we not say here <sup>मुरुत्तम</sup> also)

यथेमां क्षमसे कीर वध्यमानां वरुणिनीम् ॥

यदि नहं परित्याज्यो युवाभ्यामिह संयुगे

विक्रमेण नुरूपेण युध्येतां पुरुषर्षभौ ॥

Bhishma in reply has to confess that the Pandavas were invincible but all the same he would certainly put forth his best:

यत्तु शक्यं मया कर्तुं वृद्धेनाद्य नृपेक्षम्

करिष्यामि यथाशक्ति प्रेक्षेदानीं सखान्धवः ॥



paramount sovereign. Sri Krishna had sent Ashvameyu as his representative but the Virāṭa King, as he explains, could not send anybody because of the internal disorders consequent on the murder of Kichaka and his 100 brothers.

The sacrifice itself was a novel idea of Duryodhana who definitely knew that Drona's sincere affection was definitely for the Pandavas and more particularly for Arjuna, his most favourite disciple. So Duryodhana conceives of a yajna wherein at the end he offered to grant to Drona his 'preceptor in both Dharma and dharmas', any dakṣiṇā or gift the latter might choose to demand. When thus asked in the open assembly, Drona is taken completely by surprise and his first impulse is not to trust Duryodhana's sincerity of purpose. Duryodhana is naturally taken aback by Drona's distrust and readily repeats the offer thrice at the latter's suggestion. The unsuspecting Duryodhana has the shock of his life when Drona coolly asks for a gift of their patrimony to the Pandavas. This Duryodhana (unlike his count-part in the Dūtāvākya resisting any suggestion of the legality of the birth of the Pandavas) is torn between his duty towards his Guru and his own personal incli-







67. Nations and looks up to his advisers, his uncle Sakuni and his bosom friend Karna for an escape by a back door from the trap into which he has unconsciously walked in. The straightforward Karna tells him: 'If you want to maintain brotherly relations with your cousins, I do not stand in your way; we are by your side only when you wish to fight them tooth and nail.' But Duryodhana looks now to Sakuni, his wily advocate-general. The latter suggests that some sandy unfertile plot of land being assigned to the Pandavas as their share of the patrimony. Even this advice is not palatable to Duryodhana who avers that Yudhishthira's kingship even in a saline plot of land will surely convert the same into a most fertile plot. All the same, Duryodhana is determined to keep up his plighted word with his preceptor. When they are thus hesitating, the Virata King's ambassador walks in and explains his master's absence not as being necessitated by the internal dissensions caused by the murder of the 100 Kichakas by some mysterious person with no weapons but his own hands. Bhishma at once reads between the lines and infers that Bhishma must be the mysterious







person referred to and suggests in an aside to Drona to press for his Gundakṣinā. In the meanwhile, the wily advocate-general is ready with a backdoor method and suggested to Duryodhana that he could offer their share of the kingdom to the Pandavas if their identity could be revealed within five nights, least suspecting that they would announce themselves within that short period. The title Pancharātra refers to this stipulated period of five nights and almost every one in the assembly, even Drona and others feel that Duryodhana was only trying to frustrate a dakṣinā which he had vainly gloriously promised. Bhishma, on the other hand, urges Drona to accept even this halfhearted dakṣinā, lest he might even back out of it and suggest a plan to make the Pandavas come out of their hiding (without saying this openly) by insisting that Virāṭa's cattle should be lifted or stolen inasmuch as he had dared insult them by not responding to their invitation for the yajña. Accordingly the Kurujyēṣṭhas 'or the big guns' in the Kaurava army prepare to start on their military expedition against Virāṭa and Duryodhana has once again clearly avowed his eagerness to share his kingdom with the Pandavas if they announced their identity within







the following five nights. 69

The war actually starts, we may say, on two fronts. On one side, the cattle are lifted by the Kauravas. News is brought to the old King who is busy with Janmanakshatra Śānti to propitiate the stars of his nativity; in the mean-while, Uttara, the timid son has started, fortunately under Brāhmanalā's escort. Brāhmanalā is really Arjuna under a curse of impotency for a year and he first proceeds to the cemetery where in a Śamī tree, the Pandavas have deposited their weapons. He takes out the Gāndīva bow, and defeats all the Kauravas arrayed against them and the cows are brought back safely. Just a little further off, the representative of Sri Kṛṣṇa for the sacrifice of Duryodhana, Abhimanyu fights his own uncles, not knowing who they are. He has come along with the Kauravas and naturally finds himself confronting Bhīma, the 'cook' who has thrown himself into the battlefield there. Bhīma quietly recognises his own nephew, walks up to him, and before the other Kaurava senior warriors are able even to realise what may be up his sleeve, he captures Abhimanyu in his mighty eagle-like arms and walks away with his prisoner. The Kaurava hosts







90 manage to beat a hasty retreat and escape with their  
lives. The 'prisoner' is chafing over his defeat by an  
'unarmed warrior' and on the way, the 'so-called Cook'  
enquires, calling him by his name in the singular,  
about the welfare of Sevakiputra and Subhadra (such  
a reference in the singular in our spoken language  
ages both in the South and in the North is deemed contemptuous except when an elder in the family addresses  
his junior affectionately). Outraged at the impudent  
behaviour of an ordinary footsoldier, Abhimanyu  
smarts under his disgrace keenly, when the women  
Brhannalā enters and adds to his discomfiture  
by also talking to him in a similar outrageous fashion.  
Abhimanyu feels terribly insulted feeling as though  
they mock at him. Brhannalā, just to tickle him  
further, asks him how he allowed himself to be  
captured though he was Arjuna's son; he confesses that  
he was dumbfounded at the way in which he was over-  
powered, but all the same he definitely asserted that the  
dead persons were really pierced by his own arrows. In the  
meanwhile, of course, information had already been  
carried to the Old King about the successful repulse







of the Kauravas. The old king naturally inferred that his son was the victor and wants to congratulate him in open assembly. The 'Brahmin' (really Yudhishtira in disguise) and the king are in the assembly talking together when Abhimanyu is ushered in. The boy in his haughtiness refuses to prostrate himself before the old king, but proudly bows to a 'Brahmin' by the side. The 'Brahmin' affectionately blesses him; the king wants to know the details of the boy's arrest. Bhima in his disguise says he has arrested him and the boy pertinently reminds him to add the word 'without any weapons'. Bhima retorts that his arms alone are his weapons; the boy feels openly that these words fit in only into the mouth of his 'madhyama' paternal uncle. The 'Brahmin' does not <sup>know</sup> who such a 'madhyama' might be, but the boy respecting a Brahmin does not want to be discourteous to him. The Virata king himself repeats the question and the answer is elicited that the 'madhyama' was the killer of Jarasandha whom even Sri Krishna dared not kill. The boy further asserts that his own uncle would release him from the present ignominious capture. At this context







2  
The so-called 'Vijay' Uttara, feeling extremely embarrassed about the congratulations that are being poured upon him, enters. The King asks him whether the heroes of the day have been duly honoured (according to the rules of international politics as e.g. in Kantilya). Uttara replies that he has already noted the names of the smaller warriors and honoured them while reserving the highest honour to be awarded by his own father to the bravest warrior. On being asked to name him, he refers to Arjuna who was standing before them as Brihannala now. Dressed as a woman, Arjuna hesitates in the beginning, but as he is cornered, he has to reveal himself and incidentally explains that the so-called 'Brahmin' is Yudhishtira and the dissembling cook is Bhima. Virata and others receive agreeable surprises and Abhimanyu is particularly happy that he has been captured after all by his own uncle. The grateful Virata offers his daughter Uttara to Arjuna in appreciation of his having saved their national honour, but Arjuna accepts her as a daughter-in-law on behalf of his son Abhimanyu. It should be noted here that the offensive scene in which the Virata King strikes the dissembling Brahmin Yudhishtira with the dice coin causing blood to







flow is completely absent in Bhāṣa's version. To continue our story, Virāṭa wants to know where the marriage is to be celebrated, either in his own city or in Hastināpur and in consultation with Yūdhishthira, Uttara the prince goes out as envoy from the latter to the Kauravas to settle this matter and invite them for the same.

In the meanwhile (Act II) the discomfited Kauravas have, with some difficulty, managed to return safe to their capital. Having returned however, they take stock of the situation and find that Abhimanyu is missing. When they were keen on returning back for the very safety of their lives, they were not enthusiastic about others, but once Duryodhana has reached his capital and finds Abhimanyu absent, his old natural affection for this boy rushes back and he remarks with sincere affection (the epic Duryodhana would never have felt so) "My quarrel is only with the parents of that boy, never with him; the young boys are innocent, more particularly in this case, the boy came and fought on our side as against our enemies. Shame on us that we allowed our enemies to capture him prisoner. Any amount of persuasion by the wily Śakuni that the boy would be easily released by his maternal uncles







14  
Balarama or Krishna, or that his being Arjuna's son  
could always guarantee him his life, was of no avail  
and the noble Bhishma is cursing himself that  
he should have been privy to the loss of his innocent  
nephew. Drona calls for more particulars about the  
capture of the boy and from the description of the 'foot  
soldier' provided by the charioteer, Bhishma and Drona  
conclude that the captor who embraced the boy and  
swooped upon Abhimanyu's car must have been Bhishma  
himself. Sakuni ridicules the idea saying that these  
old persons in their partiality for the Pandavas see  
them in each and every exploit, but even he is forced  
to confess that just as Abhimanyu was overpowered on  
the one side by some mighty personality, they who  
had been fighting apart, were routed by another mighty  
personality and that according to some was Uttara and  
according to others was Arjuna. Even here the two differing  
desires of the welfare of both the Kauravas and Pandavas  
insist on calling the latter Arjuna, and assert that Uttara  
could never be supposed to have led the entire Kaurava  
army at bay, but Sakuni continues to prevaricate. Another  
charioteer enters at this point to provide them with an  
arrow of the latter mighty personality whose arrow had  
pierced them all and the name thereon is clearly Arjuna's.







15 Sākuni, the cunning Advocate, asserts that there may be some other namesake of Arjuna. Duryodhana is naturally reminded of his Gundaśhinā and once again expresses his readiness to offer the Pandavas their share of the patri-  
mony if their identity is established now. What a contrast to the Bharata epic Duryodhana who refused them even so much land as could be pierced by a sharp needle point even.  
At this juncture, a messenger is announced from the Virāta Kingdom, and after due formalities, Uttara enters. When questioned about his credentials, he states he has been sent, not by the Virāta King his father, but by Pandava Yudhishtira. He has been deputed to know where the marriage of Uttara is to be celebrated, either in Virāta nagara or in Hastināpura. Sākuni vociferously says 'Let it be celebrated there alone'. Drona now quietly demands his Gundaśhinā on behalf of the Pandavas and willingly Duryodhana parts with their share of the Kingdom for the Pandavas. Kurukulakṣema is secured, and war is avoided.

The rasa or the main sentiment is Vira or heroism. The three types - Dharmavira in Duryodhana, Dayavira in Drona, Yuddhavira in all the heroes arrayed against each other - are described and most of the heroes are semidivine in their origin (as required by rules of dramaturgy for the peculiar type Samavakāra). The





16  
peculiarity of this drama is that there is no woman brought on the stage, the only woman character being Brhannata who is really Arjuna in that guise. We may definitely assert that Visākha's *Mudrārākṣasa* followed faithfully in the wake of this excellent and brief drama; there also no woman is brought on the stage; if there was any talk of the family of the ex-Prime Minister Rākṣasa, it was for the purpose of being sacrificed at the altar of Chāṇakya's wrath.

The name *Pancharātra* itself is interesting: evidently these must be referred to a time long before the system of the four Vyūhas, Sankarṣaṇa, Aniruddha, Pradyumna and Vāsudeva was evolved, even dreamt of in the religious cults of our land. Dr Bhandarkar in his *Vaiṣṇavism*, *Saivism etc* p. 3. refers the two earlier Vyūhas Vāsudeva and Sankarṣaṇa to the time of the earliest inscription, i.e. about the beginning of the first century B.C., but we may definitely assert that even these two earlier Vyūhas do not seem to have any reference to them anywhere in the dramas of Bhāsa. The names Sankarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva might be used in the *Balacharita* with reference to the two brothers, but obviously have nothing to do with the Vyūha and the *Antaryāmi* (or internally regulating) doctrine of the *Pancharātra* philosophy. The other important *paśupati* doctrine in this philosophy is also completely absent in Bhāsa.





Chāndatta.

This seems to be the same as the Dauidrachandatta quoted by Abhinavagupta, the famous Commentator of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. Though it is an ordinary society story not connected with any aristocratic king, it has captured the imagination of the people for nearly 2000 years now since it is the love romance of an impoverished and extremely virtuous hero. The heroine herself goes out to woo her love and the story consequently is unique in world's love episodes and deserves to be preeminently regarded as the precursor of the famous Mr̥cchakatika. A long controversy has raged about the question whether the Chāndatta is the original for the first four acts of the Mr̥cchakatika or vice versa but considering the fact that in the former there are only 55 Verses to the 143 Verses of the corresponding 4 acts of the latter drama, where also the style is very verbose as contrasted with the crisp and suggestive style of Bhāsa, an unbiased mind is tempted to conclude in favour of Śūdraka, the latter (and also later) dramatist having added a political byplot to the already existing nice drama.





18 Busy king as the latter was, he must have found  
Bhasa's drama very handy. The latter must have enlarged  
upon the gambling scene, the theft, and the description of  
Vasantasena's palatial mansion and purposely put  
out the Śākara to his full lights as a rival or a foil  
to the love romance of Chāndala and Vasantasena.  
The absence of the Nāndi and the Bharata-vākya, Śūtradhāra  
speaking Prākṛit and the abrupt end of the drama are  
unique in the smaller drama. If the Śūtradhāra speaks  
Prākṛit here, one could easily compare it with the  
Brahmin Indra in disguise in the Karnabhara also  
speaking Prākṛit and the irresistible conclusion is that  
Bhasa must have lived before the dramatic  
rule about the Brahmins necessarily speaking Sanskrit  
became definitely codified. Some have argued that this  
might have been Bhasa's last drama abruptly termi-  
nated by his death; but it seems more probable that in his  
eagerness to write his more famous dramas, the Pratimā  
and the two famous Udayana dramas, and more parti-  
cularly out of deference to his patron Puṣyamitra (=   
Sūdraka) whom he supervised when he wrote the  
Mr̥cchakatika, he left his drama more or less in an  
imperfect fashion.





A magnanimous merchant prince, but now impoverished (- not because of his race-going or other luxurious habits -) was the noble Brahmin Chāṇḍika who lived in the richest quarters of Ujjain. His virtues had already attracted the admiration of the richest prostitute in the city by name Vāsantāsena (who was not a prostitute by character). She was only waiting for a suitable opportunity of expressing her love and she does so now, though in rather dramatic circumstances. The brother-in-law of the <sup>then</sup> ruling King, an eccentric coxcomb, whose only pretension for Vāsantāsena's love was his riches, his 'malapropisms' and his supposed influence with the ruling King (this last is exploited fully in the later Mr. Cehakatikakātrial scene) had already made offers to her, but she had summarily refused even to see him. Naturally he felt highly offended and one day, when by chance, he found the highly cultured lady walking alone in the street, the S'akāra, for that was the name of this coxcomb, promiscuously mispronouncing sā, sa and sa as sō, emboldened by his assistant's presence, waylaid the woman under cover of the evening dusk. The





helpless prostitute sternly repulsed him regardless of the consequences. The ambiguity of the Prakrit language in having the same word for Śānta = shut up and Śrānta = tired was availed of by the Śākāra and bullied by two unscrupulous fellows, the Śākāra and his servant Vita, the prostitute was extremely miserable when a chance utterance of the Śākāra that Chāndatta's house was nearby, afforded her the needed protection and she managed to slip into her sweetheart's house the door of which was just then fortunately opened by Chāndatta's Brahmin friend Maitreya and Radanika. The latter, the maidservant of the house, was holding a lamp in her hand for the former to come out and offer the daily worship at the street corner. The wily prostitute blew out the lamp in the maid's hand and quietly slipped in unobserved, while the Brahmin friend walked again to light the lamp. The maid, unsuspecting of danger, walked out to be seized upon by the Śākāra and even roughly handled. By this time, the Brahmin walked out with the lamp, and he became incensed at the outrage suffered by the maid. Though inwardly quaking with fear, the Śākāra pretended that the prostitute had slipped into Chāndatta's house with





his jewels and so should be restored to him the next day. Both the Śākara and his friend beat a hasty retreat now. In the meanwhile, Vasantasenā, who had slipped into the house, was mistaken for his maid by Chandatta and asked by him to get <sup>for</sup> him his scented upper cloth. The prostitute eagerly took it up and remains silent, her love for him increasing by the realisation of the fact that the man even in his poverty had not abjured his old luxurious habits. Her silence made the hero rather perplexed, but the entry of the Brahmin friend Maibeya and Radanikā at this stage after the pūjā explains the mystery and Chandatta has a pleasant shock when he realises that the lady who seeks his protection was the prostitute Vasantasena. The way in which Bhasa has arranged the scene in the first part of the night reminds us of an exactly similar and excellently arranged scene in the fifth act of the Svapnavāsavadatta. The first act ends with the prostitute cleverly creating another opportunity for her to come once again by entrusting her jewels - for the sake of which, she alleges, sinful people like Śākara pursue her - into the safe custody of Chandatta. One is even tempted to imagine that Vātsyāyana while writing his Kamasūtra must have been





Guided by Bhāsa's depiction of the Vesīgā, how the latter  
tried to accommodate herself into her new home under  
Chāudatta's roof amicably with a senior wife.

The second act is but the dovetailing together  
of the various unsolicited testimonials as it were that  
are offered to Chāudatta and cleverly heard by the prosti-  
tute in her own drawing room. Her maid cleverly draws  
out from her a confession of her sincere affection for the  
hero (and disgust for Sākāna). At this moment, an ex-  
employee of Chāudatta, a Samvāhaka or Shampooer,  
now thrown out of employment and fallen into gambling  
and other vices, is pursued by another gambler to whom  
he has lost 10 golden pieces. By chance the gambler  
runs into the prostitute's house and gets a sym-  
-thetic hearing particularly because the latter  
understands that he was serving Chāudatta. The  
prostitute is overjoyed at the excellent account of  
her lover from the gambler's lips and readily parts  
with a golden bangle. The pursuer receives the same  
and slips away fully satisfied. The grateful gambler  
applies for a job in her house, but the clever prostitute  
suggests that such an excellent art must find  
an equally excellent connoisseur as he was for-  
-tunate enough to serve so far. The miserable fellow





3 has to go out when the mahout servant of Vasantaseva  
rushes him and describes the gallant way in which he  
rescued a recluse from the clutches of their infuriated  
elephant. For this act of his, he was rewarded by a  
noble looking spectator with his own scented upper  
cloth (evidently the same as at the end of Part I) as he  
had nothing else to spare. The prostitute is only too  
glad to see the person who was now slowly winding  
his way home after being divested of his upper cloth  
and takes the same from her servant only to hug  
it to her bosom passionately. As if these testimonials  
are not enough to drown the prostitute in her sea  
of passion, the dramatist in the next act makes  
these jewels of the prostitute deposited in Chandatta's  
house stolen away. Though the jewels are thus lost,  
the virtue of Chandatta makes him declare that  
they are lost in gambling. By a piece of good luck,  
the jewels have been stolen by the lover of  
Vasantaseva's own maid, the lover wanting to  
find the money for ransoming the maid by  
stealing from the noble looking house in the richest  
merchants' quarter, least suspecting that Chandatta  
was now completely impoverished as he was himself  
a stranger to the city. The Vidushaka and Chandatta





return late at midnight after attending some music performance and the maid in the house who was responsible for the safety of the jewels the two previous nights, now hands them over to the terribly sleepy Vidusaka for safe custody. Finding that he will not be able to sleep confidently with the box of jewels, the latter rather reluctantly accepts the box silently praying that the same be stolen away to rid him of all future bother. Soon after both of them fall asleep and the thief cleverly bores a hole in the wall and enters. He has a shock when he finds the Vidusaka talking in his sleep offering the box of jewels to his friend for safe custody. The thief reassures himself that the person is only talking in his dream, accepts the box, and walks quietly out as the cock crows in the early dawn. The Vidusaka who is fast asleep is now roused up by the maid who has got up for her morning work and finds that a hole is made in the wall. The realisation of the loss of the jewels dawns on them soon after and this is too much for the hero as the public comment will be that Chandatta must have misappropriated the jewels and to cover up the same pretended now that they were stolen away. In the meanwhile, the





5  
Brahmani, the senior wife of the Chandatta has heard about the loss of these jewels and also about the terrible effect upon her husband's mind. She now pretends she has been fasting the previous day and that day when she wants to break the fast, she wants to present her personal pearl necklace, a very costly heirloom which she has received as present from her father (and which Chandatta dare not touch in spite of his present impoverished condition) to the Vidyasaka. The latter understands the implication of the 'gift' and reports about the same to the hero who promptly asks him to offer up the same to the prostitute in lieu of her jewels which he pretends he had gambled and lost. With this end in view the next act (the last) finds us in the prostitute's drawing room. The latter has herself drawn a lively portrait of the hero presenting his scented upper cloth to the mahout for his having rescued the recluse and walking back bare-bodied to his house. News is just then brought that the Sakara has just then sent some rich presents and his Panskar or lotus couch. The prostitute angrily rejects the ornaments. In the meanwhile, Sappalake the thief has brought the box of stolen jewels to that place and with a suspicious air about him, slyly calls the maid. By chance, the





prostitute has been looking at him from her parlour  
upstairs and the thief somehow manages to attract  
the maid's attention. The latter suspects something  
fishy about her sweetheart's transaction and manages  
to extract a confession from his lips that the jewels  
were stolen from a rich merchant's house in the  
richest Sresthi's quarters. The talk is being overheard  
by the prostitute slyly from her parlour; exactly at the  
moment, flashes in the mind, of both the prostitute  
and the maid, the idea whether anybody might have  
been injured in the process of the theft and the maid's  
next question and the thief's reply ~~are~~ fortunately  
for the prostitute sufficiently reassuring. The maid  
now makes the thief realise that the ornaments stolen  
were Vasantarena's and were deposited there for safe  
custody by herself. The thief is therefore advised to  
return the jewels which of course he finds it impossible  
to act upon. The maid then advises him to pretend  
that the jewels were sent back by 'Chandatta' because of  
the insecurity of the house and he agrees to do so. In the  
meantime, the Viduraker is introduced; he wants to  
know the cost of the jewels deposited and when asked  
why he wants the information, explains that the jewels  
have been gambled away by Chandatta who has now





sent a pearl necklace to make up for the loss of the same. The prostitute who has known the truth by a lucky chance thinks that the hero might misunderstand if the pearl necklace is refused and quickly accepts it and sends upon paying a visit by herself to Chandatta soon after. She admires him for his nobility all the more and her love turns into worshipful passion; after the Kalyana goes away, the other maid Madanika introduces her lover into the prostitute's presence. The latter pretends as though he is a messenger from Chandatta but he is cleverly unmasked by the prostitute. In her nobility, the prostitute presents the jewel to Madanika, presents her to her lover and they both repair to their new home in the prostitute's coach; again another present for the new bridal pair. Vasantaene herself departs in another chariot in spite of the fact that it is strictly raining to Chandatta's house with the pearl necklace and we are left to guess the final outcome - another happy bridal couple!

Now let us try to meet a few of the arguments of those who believe that Chandatta was abridged from the Mr. celakatika by removing the political episode and also the lawsuit. The author of the Chandatta wanted to make a pleasing comedy out of the first few acts of



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the *Micchakathika* and hence has avoided references to  
the political revolution, to Rohasena, and to the lawsuit  
which is contemplated by the vengeful 'Sikhāra' - These  
are the words of Devadhar from his introduction to the  
*Chārudatta*. Since the reference to Rohasena is omitted  
towards the end of the very first act where the hero,  
mistaking *Vasantasenā* to be his maid, asks her to  
take the child in <sup>to protect it from the cold</sup> and hence alone the causal  
*प्रतिज्ञा* is appropriate in the *Micchakathika* and not  
in the *Chārudatta* where it becomes meaningless and  
ungrammatical, we answer that Bhāsa uses in many  
places this causal form naturally, in a noncausal sense  
and so it must have been more or less a matter of common  
usage alone in these days. For example in the *Tract* of the  
*Pratimā*, soon after Verse 12, where Rama realises that his  
brother ~~Lakṣmana~~ Bharata has turned up, orders Lakṣmana  
to *satkṛtya Sighram pravesyatām Kumārāḥ*; this is to  
be translated as 'Greet the prince and show him in at  
once'. Even Devadhar himself translates the sentence  
'you had better enter the inner room'. Such usages  
are quite common in the nature of the language.  
Bāṇa in his *Kadambarī* asks that the *Indrāyudha* is





to be introduced - pravesyatām indrayātrah. The word  
here also would have to be brushed aside as unmeaning  
and ungrammatical. Continuing in the same strain,  
the Samvāhaka or the champion in It act finds the  
prostitute, sympathetic and obliging enough even to the  
extent of paying off his debt to the master of the gaming  
table, almost applies to her for a job; if now the gamster  
cleverly avoids him by saying that he must serve a  
master as noble as the one he has previously, or if later  
she again remarks in bidding him farewell, may you  
go now to come back once again, this punarāśāna  
or a reference to Chaudatta's future prosperity is taken  
as tacitly implying that the author of the snake drama  
had a definite knowledge of the bigger one. We only  
answer that the usual idiom in Sanskrit in case  
of a farewell is that there must be a sincere prayer  
along with the same for a reunion, exactly as in the case  
expression 'au revoir'. If the prostitute says 'serve an  
equally virtuous man', it should not, again, imply that  
the author of the smaller drama should have known  
the existence of the other. The prostitute might send up  
a sincere prayer, again, that her lover might soon  
regain his wealth and she might also be unwilling to





10  
let her enjoy a luxury which adverse circumstances  
have denied for her heart's dearest. If after Verse 51 in the  
Iact in the Mrcchakatika, the Sakara threatens while  
going - अधिकरणे वादहृत् विज्ञा न ह्य निमित्तया, and this  
reference to the court scene being purposely omitted,  
the answer is obvious; the Sakara simply threatens  
दृष्टः शब्दे अधिकृत and there is no reason why  
a reference to an impending lawsuit is to be read  
in the context. Similarly if the cheta of the Mrccha-  
katika is absent in the Charudatta, one need not  
necessarily jump to the conclusion that he should  
have been omitted. Charudatta simple, straightforward  
and suggestively brief in its style, had no necessity  
at all for this cumbersome and superfluous appendage.  
Another significant 'omission' it is alleged is the  
complete absence of the political background. A dis-  
passionate reading of the Charudatta can make  
any body realise that it is complete as far as it goes.  
The critics that contend that the Charudatta is abridged  
seem to imagine that some of the inexplicable points  
in the Mrcchakatika are purposely omitted in the Charu-  
datta, but I would draw the attention of scholars to some  
stanzas found in the Charudatta but omitted from the  
bigger work. One such is the curious stanza





मथा विभक्तमन्दोऽपि जन्मभूमिर्लपेदाया।

महं विक्रयकलि ५ श्री नीलरुने हुन ररति ॥ III . 12.

This word is not found in the *Mecchakatika* obviously because the word *atīti* the explanation for which out of the way word had to be found in the not usually popular *Yādava Kosā*, the Common *Amarakosā* having nothing to speak about it. Similarly the phrase *atīti* seems to have been un-

nothing to speak about it. Similarly  
करस्तीकृतसंस्कृतः इव शास्त्रं प्रमाणः seems to have been un-  
intelligible to the author of the Meehakatika and  
he seems to have conveniently dropped the same.  
Similarly Devadhar mentions in his notes many sentences

Similarly Devanāgarī manuscripts like *समुद्रपूतनराज* *वृत्तसहितः*, जो *१ प्रश्न* *अध्यायः* की संज्ञा है, being  
payasvade word समुद्रपूतन was inadvertently omitted.  
not found in the *Mucchakakha*. So far, the critics seem  
to have overlooked the 'additions' as they

not found in the Mechatika  
to have concentrated only on the 'additions' as they  
termed them to the ideas as found from Mechatika,  
and do not seem to have taken stock of the signi-  
ficant omissions therefrom and there are many as  
noted - the better explanation

significant omissions. The person  
Devadhar himself has noted - the better explanation  
is that these omissions were effected because these  
were the authors of the Archeo

is that these omissions were not fully intelligible to the author of the *Myths of Katika*. I have only referred to 2 or 3 such instances by way of an illustrative analysis, as by the *Ṛgveda* and I believe that if due emphasis is laid on





his new aspect, the objections raised by Devadhar  
will be satisfactorily met and the correct appraisal  
of the relationship between the two versions will be  
possible. It is easier to think that the political back-  
ground and the lawsuit were added into the *Mecha*  
-*Katika* rather than the other way round and the  
later bigger drama - it need not have been very  
much later, as a matter of fact, it might have  
been later by only a few days or months - was  
evolved by making a few additions or improvements  
and, what is more important, a few omissions also.  
If there are many places where the omissions in the  
*Chandatta* are unnatural and rather flat when  
compared with the corresponding places in the *Mecha*-  
*Katika*, the explanation is obvious that the later drama  
has improved upon them; even the improvement on the  
Telli scheme as noted by Devadhar is better explained  
in this way rather than as Devadhar is disposed to  
explain the chronology. Devadhar also notes on p 144 in  
his commentary in English: 'Again in place of the very  
lengthy description of Vasantakarna's mansion which we  
have in the *Mecha*, the *Chandatta* gives but one brief passage  
of 4 lines. Brevity is the soul of wit, the earlier *Chandatta*





knows, while the humour of the Mace is very often over-  
drawn, even to the point of presumption. The  
Comparison of the Urubhanga boy Surjaya by the  
side of his dying father with the boy Rohasene in  
the Mace act will be very instructive in the context.

See the other Ex. more Book for Continuation.



Pedima

A Comparative Study of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra and Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtra would lead one to suppose that the latter is of <sup>certain</sup> more elementary character in aspects and that Bharata effected improvements thereon. For example, Kāmasūtra I. 1.1-2 mentions only 3 varieties of ~~शरीरक~~, ३१३१, ६५ + ३१ etc. + three varieties of women मृगी, वडकी + हस्तिनी whereas Bharata XXII. 96. 142 mentions 24 varieties of women. The classification of the heroines in relation to the hero is fuller. Bharata mentions 8 varieties ~~as वीरक सजिता, विरहो कण्ठिता~~ etc. Similarly Bharata attempts a systematic treatment of the arts, particularly music for the first time perhaps, while in Vatsyāyana and the Jātaka, music and dance were already in a developed condition. According to Vatsyāyana, the painting requires such as the drawing board, brushes etc were in the possession of every cultured citizen or nāgaraka implying thereby that every cultured man was an artist by himself. (Sūtras 5-13 pp 43-51).





Vātsyāyana advised her on more occasions than one  
 occasion to be constant in her devotion, to be तिकचरिणी. The  
 two verses at the end of the 4th ādhikāraṇa Iśāyā  
 are significant: सद्गुणमनुवर्ते न नायकस्य हितैषिणी ।  
 कुलयोषा पुनश्चूरी वेश्या वाप्येकचरिणी ॥ धर्ममार्गे तत्रा  
 कामं कुरुते सानमेव न । निस्सपत्नं च भर्तृहिंसायः सद्गुणमा  
 श्रिताः ॥ The list of the virtues of the ideal nāyaka  
 in the Vaisikādhikāraṇa II.1. seems to be more or  
 less a commentary on Ghāṇḍarī's or Udayana's  
 (rather any Bhāsa's hero's) virtues and the way in  
 which even a prostitute is advised to concentrate  
 her affection by being a jitenāyikā and not  
 to run into social or sexual excesses (in III 57  
 and 58) is a definite echo of Bhāsa's Vasantaseṇā  
 who almost voluntarily fits herself into a family  
 life. In the same strain, Bhāsa showed the way in  
 which 2 wives of the same person, Vasavadattā and  
 Padmāvatī could live amicably under the same  
 roof and Vātsyāyana boasts that women, if they  
 would follow his precepts, could keep their husbands under  
 their control even if the harem contained a 1000 ladies  
 येन सा राजपुत्री च महामात्रसुता च ॥ सद्गुणान्नः पुनश्चापि स्वतः कुर्वन्तीति ॥  
 I-3-22.





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Vātsyāyana's partiality for the prostitute as she could be, from her early age, a *connoisseur* and a patron also (as Vasantasena of Bhāsa) of the *śāstra* detailed by him at the very beginning of his work, is quite understandable; her desire to Court virtue is commended on almost every page; she alone, not the shy house-wife, is capable of giving the greatest satisfaction, *श्रीश्रीश्रीश्री VI. 1. 1.* because of her having studied all the poses for sexual enjoyment. She might be naturally exempted from any tax or *bhoga* as Kantilya would insist upon - *श्रीश्रीश्री* *श्रीश्रीश्रीश्री* (II. 27). The latter also insisted that she should (if) be privileged to hold the umbrella being a Government servant, wave the *chāmara* or carry the king's betel-box while the king might be travelling in a palanquin or be seated on his throne - *श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री* *श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री*, that she should have security of service and be given pension if she became disabled in service and be entitled to special privileges or favours; but





## Chapter 2 Vātsyāyana and Bhāsa

Vātsyāyana seems to have lived chronologically next to Kautilya and Bhāsa and seems to have preceded Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa. If Kautilya's *Arthśāstra* logically made up the starting point of trivarga declaring 'artha eva pradhāna' (I. 7), and explains it as 'artha mīlan hi dharmakāma', Vātsyāyana, obviously under his influence, starts the 6th chapter of his sixth *Āhikāra* entitled *arthānarthānubandha samāya vicāra* with *artha* and enumerates the *trivarga* as *artha*, *dharma* and *kāma* (sūtra 5) in a rather peculiar fashion. He agrees closely in subject matter and style with Kautilya; there is even a tradition which regards both as one person since they both belong to the same gotra; Vātsyāyana teaches the method by which material success is gained; whether this success agrees with religion or not, he is not bothered about. Vātsyāyana's reference to Bhāsa's *Arinmāra* story (P 245, Benares Edn, 1929) has already been noted and we shall try to show other echoes of Bhāsa in him.





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glorified him as 'jagatah priyam' in the *Uvāṅga* 35  
and dedicated his *Bālā charita* to Him, while the  
Northern *Bharata* referred to His other aspects: as  
they could not be completely blacked out from the list  
of the gods to whom an obeisance was necessary.  
at the beginning of every dramatic occurrence.  
If we carefully scan the examples for the various  
metres in the chapters on 'Chhandonichiti' for example,  
we will find that *Śiva alone* is worshipped and no  
instance can be found glorifying *Viṣṇu* or His  
avatāra *Kṛṣṇa*. *Brahma* and *Śiva* are worshipped  
in the *Pūrvāṅga* ceremony.

Our investigation seems to show that *Bharata*  
might have preceded *Bhāṣa* by a generation or  
two only.





verse 22 (quoted in page 18 of the article) that Kṛṣṇa is  
corrupted into Kṛṇṭa in Prākṛit, Yaṇṣa into jakkha etc.  
(of course, both the K.M. and Baroda eds read 'uṣṇam'  
uhvam' instead of Kṛṣṇam Kāhvam, but the da 'manu'  
script of Sri M. Ramakrishna Kavi quoted in the footnote  
in the Baroda Ed~~ns~~ clearly reads Kṛṣṇam Kāhvam. But  
the fact that Kṛṣṇa is not referred to elsewhere presents  
a knotty problem. Kṛṣṇa is worshipped as Padmanābha,  
Nārāyaṇa, Janārdana, Surothama and this last epithet  
is shared by Śiva and Muṣāsana in III Athyāya. Kṛṣṇa  
is referred to as creating and destroying all people,  
as the source of the three worlds, and the first god of  
the world in Bṛh. 76 K.M. edn: विष्णुः सृजति भूतानि विष्णुः  
संहृते प्रजः। विष्णुप्रसूतं त्रैलोक्यं विष्णुलोकदिदेवतम्॥  
and Balarama is eulogised in a beautiful allitera-  
-live couplet in the same chapter 82 हुकी वली ली  
माली ३१ली जाली लली जली। वली वली वली लली लली लली  
लली लली लली लली॥ and the nonreference to Kṛṣṇa his younger  
brother is perhaps to be explained on the supposition  
that Bharata was a staunch Śaivite, studiously  
avoiding all reference if possible to this god who  
might just then be gaining prominence from the  
South. The Southerner Bhāṣa, slightly late perhaps,



① The word पाञ्चजम् occurring in a verse in Dūtavākya is definitely interpolated and spurious,

1 The title प्रतिमा of another drama has obviously nothing to do with the modern pratimā of a temple. Even the word गर्भगृहं in Bālarārita II 4 - कोऽपि विनिष्पत्ति गर्भगृहं विगच्छ - has nothing to do with the 'sanctum sanctorum' of the temple as we understand at present. It simply means private bed-room of Kāṁsa as is clear from the context. Evidently these suggest that Bhasa must have lived long before the temple technique was perfected. Even Bāṇa and Bhavarabhūti use the word गर्भगृहं in the शौचिक sense alone. - Bāṇa describing सूतिकागृहं of चन्द्रापीड says - स्वप्नोऽसमुद्योपहृतगर्भगृहं. <sup>extending to सूतिकागृहं</sup> प्रदीपप्रभं 4150 - Kādambari N. SE ed. of 1896 - + Bhavarabhūti I. 7 धर्ममनाद्विशति कामगृहं नरेन्द्रः.

by the name <sup>95</sup> Panchajanya as in the Bhagavata where there  
is a peculiar story that it was fashioned from the bones  
of a Rākṣasa who had swallowed Sāṅkha's son.  
(X. 20-45<sup>th</sup> chapter). The Sāṅkha as referred to in Bala  
I. 25- श्रीरुद्राक्षमणि एवमुक्तः - is lifted up from the  
lactic ocean <sup>(a)</sup> and has nothing to do with the later  
Panchajanya. As Dr R. G. Phandarkar remarked in his  
Vaisnavaim <sup>(1873)</sup> p. 3. It may be taken for granted that the 2  
Vyūhas Vāruḍewa and Sankarsana only were known  
up to the time of the earliest inscription which is to be  
referred to about the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> cen before the  
Christian Era so that the system of the 4 Vyūhas was  
not fully developed at that time. Thus the word  
Pancharātra as the title of a famous drama of Bhāsa  
has clearly nothing to do with the tenets of the  
Pancharātra philosophy which was perfected only  
in the Jayākhya Saṁhitā of about 450 A.D. <sup>1</sup> Sri M.  
Ghosh in his article in the Calcutta Dept of Letters  
already referred to remarks that Bhārata is ignorant  
of the Kṛṣṇa cult and does not refer to him. But this  
is not correct since the same author in an earlier page  
quoting the Prākṛit slokas of Bhārata actually mentions in





a hymn of Hammalwan, and Saint Sadagopa, Visnu Purana  
and a Pallava inscription besides Sri Sankara's inclusion  
shows that this avatara was admitted in orthodox circles  
by the 7th. cen and probably by 550 A.D." Bhasa himself  
does not refer to the Matsya, Kurma and Buddha  
avatara and we cannot conclude from his references  
to Parasurama that he might have been glorified  
an avatara of Visnu. It is not clear for us to whom the  
first 'Narayana' in the Balacharita Nandi refers. At  
the same, we have reason to assert that he knows the  
Puranic theory of incarnation as he declares that Visnu  
has assumed different shapes in the different Yugas  
and identifies Rama who kills Ravana with Vamana  
or Virochana Bali's Killer (Bala I. 8). The usual war  
between the gods and the Rakshasas are referred to by  
Narada in Bala I. 4. Sri Krishna is exalted in the Duta ghat  
Nandi as instituting a hundred plans for the protection  
of the world. He is already the jagatah priyah in Duryodhan  
language in Uruk 35. His possession of shankha is exalted  
in Duta ghat. 8. and his various ayudha, like Chakra,  
S'arnga, Kammodaki, Sankha and Nandaki and his  
vehicle Garuda are referred to in the Balacharita  
in the Duta Vākya. Krishna's Sankha is not as yet glorified



In the Bhāgavata also Buddha is mentioned as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu & the Prahmaṇḍa prescribes a festival for the anniversary of Buddha where it is declared that an image of Buddha should be worshipped that day. Even in South India from an inscription of 7<sup>th</sup> cen. we know that Buddha was counted as an avatāra. The Gupta religious revival emphasised this avatāra doctrine. This avatāra doctrine goes back to Pre-Buddhist times. Pāṇini knew and worshipped them, but Patañjali it was who first deified Krishna as an avatāra. This doctrine becomes prominent in the Ītā. We hear of Anśavatāras like Kapila, Dattātraya and Purāṇavatāras like Krishna.

Heaven ending in their own exaltation to the exclusion of Brahma had already been conceived in the Puranic poet's brain. Later Brahma actually began to be viewed with disfavour as he granted boons most indiscriminately to Rakshasas and landed the favourite gods of the Puranic poets in dire peril from which Vishnu in most cases or Shiva extricated them. As has been already remarked, Bhasa refers to Narayana or Vishnu as Vamana, Rama, Krishna, Narasimha, and Varaha avatāras and the Dasāvatāra scheme was only fitted up 3 or 4 centuries later. Sri R. C. Hazra in his 'Puranic customs' puts this matter in a nutshell thus: 'The Matsya Purana 54 includes Buddha among the ten incarnations of Vishnu. Markandeya 4 mentions Avatāras beginning with Varaha and ending with Mathurā Krishna but does not mention Buddha. The Harivamsa does not mention Buddha but mentions Kalki. Brahma Purana agrees with Markandeya and Harivamsa. The Jayākhya Samhitā of about 450 A.D. of the Pāncharātra school does not refer to the Buddha.... The mention of the Buddha in the Epitha Gvinda, Dasāvatāracharita of Kṣemendra



The Elephant Head Ganesha is a symbolical representation of Victory. Hence at the commencement of every undertaking, the orthodox Hindu offers prayers to this God to bless him with success. He is the Lord of the Ganesa or troops of inferior deities. - War in Ancient India - pp 146-148.

to be so called because of Rikveda II. 231. - गणानां त्वी गण-  
 पतिं हुवामहे. जोषराजं कृष्णाय नमः. The Vedic hymn  
 as anybody can see, refers only to Brahma and not at  
 all to Ganapati. Even the term श्रीगणेश in Katha  
 III which is interpreted by Dr Ganapati Sastri as  
 referring to Ganapati is to be correctly understood  
 as referring to Skanda alone who is also referred  
 to as कुमारवृक्षजारी in Kathasar Vikramorvasiy.  
 Bhaskar Mishra's VI - महामैत्र भृगुनेहं रामनालोम्यरुहं  
 6 and हरिगणपति सैन्यं द्रष्टुं कामाः 4 do not, as anybody  
 can see, refer to Ganesha or Ganapati as we understand  
 him. That is why we have inserted a question mark  
 against the name of this god both under Bhaskar and Bhara.

The Puranic period slightly later might  
 emphasise the worship of Siva and Visnu, but in  
 Bhaskar's or Bhara's time, Brahma also receives his  
 due need of worship as one of the most important  
 gods. The Maitrayana Yajurveda 43rd Verse starting  
 with Vivakartā or Brahmā is significant in this  
 connection. The bit 'indram hariharāvira' in  
 Atharva 1.3. seems to indicate that the Puranic tradition  
 of Itari and Hara installing Indra as the chief god of





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Upanisads, and the epics, the Ganesa is either Skanda or Siva himself and the modern elephant-headed god is conspicuous by his absence in the earlier Upanisads and the earlier Puranas like Visnu, Vayu or Markandeya. The Ganapathakavya Upanisad, one of the 108 published in M.S. Press Bombay, is evidently late. In the Ramayana for example when Visvāmitra is followed by Rama and Lakṣmana in Bālakanda XVI.10, he is described as being followed by कुमारौ तिव शिवौ, two Kumāras and anybody can see that it would be more pertinent if the comparison of two brothers was to the two famous brothers Ganesa and Skanda. One can also recall to his mind the war in which Ganesa being described as the prime who broke the spirit of Vyāsa's dictation is also recognised as a late interpolation. Similarly the attempt of some commentators to read a reference to the modern Ganesa in Ratnāṭ.1

पातु वासवदेवायः महादेवो जगन्निधिः ।

वत्सराजस्तु नात्मा सशक्तियैः शत्रुनाशकः ॥

is also quite out of place. Vātsarāja is interpreted as a synonym of Kārttikeya since he is a younger brother of the Jyēṣṭharāja or Ganesa, by whom he is





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in both. Some particular gods might not be referred to  
but that is almost an accident. Perhaps we must make  
it clear as the very outset that Sri M. Ghosh's reference  
to Ganesa in Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra III.9. following Abhinava  
Gupta's comment is definitely out of place as I have  
endeavored to show in an article in the Mythic  
Society Journal - New series Vol. XLI Nos 3 & 4, Jan and  
April 1951. Bharata does not at all refer to Ganesa  
throughout his N.S. This Ganesa, as understood now, is a  
late god who cannot be easily traced back to an  
earlier date than the 6th cen. A.D. (as Dr Bhattacharya  
pointed out long ago in his Vaishnavism etc), even Bhāṣa  
referring to the leader of Ganesa's ganas as Skanda  
only. To Kalidasa, again, Skanda is the only son of  
Parvati as is clear from Kumāra II.14. गणेशोऽसौ देव  
पुत्रोऽसौ देव. The context  
is clear in describing that the plants alone and not  
Ganesa are पुत्रोऽसौ देव to Skanda. Till this time  
again, Skanda is the only son of Ganesa, and Bhāṣa  
in Haṇḍa II.1. and Amarakośa I.38 are perhaps  
the earliest authorities to refer to our Ganesa in  
the modern sense of the term. In the earlier Vedic



Ganesa, whom we worship in the very beginning in any Tantric ritual is characterised by the epithet Vighna, + a Buddhist God was created in Vighnāntaka; his God when represented in art is seen trampling Ganesa under his feet. The position of Ganesa in the Buddhist pantheon is under the feet of various Gods such as Mahāpratisāra, Parna devārī, Aparājitā etc. the higher Gods like Brahma, Viṣṇu, Indra + Śiva are also humiliated similarly. Their consorts also did not receive any better treatment. Śrīlata, Harāgniz etc are sometimes represented as being angry to escape the wrath of Buddhist Gods. Poor Brahma has been more severely landed. His severed head with faces & grey beards is mercilessly flung by a number of Buddhist Gods. — Eximples of Vajrayana by B. Bhattacharya in Madras Oriental Conference.

# V Divine Seers 89

Byaspati: III.4; XXXIV.79; XXXVI.52

Nārada: XXXVI.66.

## VI Earthly Seers.

Bala (deva): IV.254.

Nakula: XXXVI.60, 64, 69

Santakumara III.31.

## VII Trimurti

Bratma: I.1, 6140; III.4; III.1.  
XXXIII.207.

Viṣṇu I.62; IV.4, 251; V.100;  
XXXIII.207, 238

Śiva I.1, 93; IV.6, 16, 248; XXXIII.207.

Kārttikeya: I.94; III.4.

Ganeśa: III.9 (?)

## VIII Goddesses.

Sarasvati: III.5, 25.

Lakṣmī: III.5, 25; IV.252

Urmā = Parvati = Chaudikā III.251,

V.53, IV.246

Siddhi, Meṣhā, Smṛti, Nati III.5

Niyati I.90, III.6

Nārada: Bala I; Him V. p.180.

Chandabharava: Him V. p.116 - Suras  
He entire family of hero.

Baladeva or Balarāma: Svapna I.1;  
urubh.

and Lesser Gods (Bala III + VII) Combed

Bratma: Maithyama 43.

Viṣṇu - Bala III.12; Maithyama 43.

Śiva = Rudra, Bala III.12 = Nara

Nakula I.3; Maithyama 43

Saktidhara (= Kārttikeya = Subrahmanya)

Pratigā II.2; Bala II.22; Maithyama 43

Ganeśa: Pratigā I.1; III (?)

Lakṣmī = 8th of Kansa in Bala II

Urmā = 3rd of Kansa in Bala II; Pancha II.44.  
3rd of Kansa in Bala II; Him II.2

Kārttikeya (with an extra's)  
appearing before Kansa in Bala II  
20.

This Comparison in parallel columns makes it quite clear that the devatāmanandala is almost the same





<sup>88</sup>  
 Rākṣasas: I. 10; V. 47; XXIII 216  
 Piśāchas: I. 92; III 27; XXIII 216.  
 Yakṣas: I. 10 etc; II 8  
 Asuras: I. 10, 63; III. 8; V. 46; XXII. 16;  
 XXXIII. 216.

### III Eight Great Gods - अष्टदिक्पालकः or लोकपालः

Surya: I. 62, 65; II 5; III. 24.  
 Chandra: I 84, II 5; III. 24; V 51  
 (Indra's name or Asura)  
 Vayu: I 62; III. 25.  
 Yama: I 90; II 6; III 26; IV 253  
 Varuna I. 61; III 28; IV 253  
 Indra: I. 11; II 4; III 24; IV 252  
 Lokapālas: I 85; III 5; V 50.

### IV - Host of Spirits

Gandharvas: I. 10; III 7; V 46.  
 Apsarasas: I 47; III. 7; V. 45.  
 Kāma: IV 252.  
 Asvins: III. 5;  
 Maruts: I 85; III. 6.  
 Rudras: I 87; III 6, 26.  
 Vis'vedevas: III. 26.  
 Āditya: I. 87.

Rākṣasas: Bāla I P 518 Devānām  
 Piśāchas  
 Yakṣas - अवलितुहरी नाम पश्चिमी - Śvapara  
 V. 443.  
 Vidyādhars: Purim IV; Vidyādhars (3)  
 descend in the night in Abhis II.  
 Chāndālā girls entering Kāmas' body in  
 Bāla II.  
 Asuras or surasikṣu - Karna I.

Sūrya's horses: Karna 19; Agni escorts  
 Sītā out of Fire - Abhis II - Agni = Himāvathe.  
 Chandra - Prathimā V. 17 (= सोम).

Yama (= सूर्यपुत्र) Prathimā V. 17.

Varuna: appears in Abhis IV & offers a  
 path across the Sea to Rāma.

Indra (= Śakra) Prathimā V. 17; Maitheya  
 43; Uru 35; Abhis I 3; II 16.

Dikpālas = Lokapālas only 4 (not 8)  
 Prathimā V. 17.

Apsarasas escort dying hero's soul to Svarga  
 Abhis I and; Uru 40.

Kāma: Śvapara IV. 1

Asvina: Dūtāvatya 19.

Rudra: Bāla III. 12 = शिव, मधुम  
 43.





87  
 already, I would draw the logical conclusion from  
 the metrical analysis on p. 33 of the article and would  
 arrange the chronology on his findings as Bhasa 2 extra  
 metres (or really 1 only), Kālidāsa (5 extra), Aśvaghoṣa 7,  
 Bhāṭṭi 8, Bhāṇu 10, and Māgha 22. From this metrical  
 analysis, the writer concludes that Bharata is slightly  
 prior to Bhasa and I would add that Kālidāsa and  
 Aśvaghoṣa follow in chronological order.

I propose now to compare in parallel columns  
 the devatāmandala of Bharata and Bhasa. We follow  
 the same Sri Ghosh's classification in the same article  
 where he says he has classified the gods according  
 to the system adopted by Hopkins in his Epic Mythology.  
 The Chandaṅkamaśāstra of the Nāṭyaśāstra is utilised.

I Lower Mythology.  
Bharata  
 Serpents: I. 10, 63 etc II. 8; III. 27; IV. 254  
 V. 51.  
 Birds: III. 9, 29; Waters: I. 88; III. 7; IV. 53

II Spirits  
 Pītaras III. 27; V. 52.  
 Bhūtas I. 87, 92; III. 8 etc; IV. 11; V. 54

Bhasa  
 I Nāgaloka or Pātāla: Akṣi I. 5;  
 Kālīya: Bāla IV.  
 Birds: Garuda = Vāṇī = Kṛpāśekhī  
 Bāla I. 21: 8321 774 2877 Duta Vā I. 53.  
 - Gatāya Ratimā VI. 22.  
 Waters: Samudra personified - appe-  
 aring before dying heroes in trouble &  
 Akṣi I where Vāli sees Gaṅgā & the water  
 Pītaras - Seen by dying heroes like Dasaraṇ  
 Vāli & Durya - Śrāddha Ratimā V.  
 Bhūta = highest God - Bāla III. 10





case with Bhasa's dramas. Dandin in the 7<sup>th</sup> cen. A.D. had already prized this Mahārāstri Prākṛit as the best Prākṛit or 'prākṛitam prākṛitam'. The attempt to identify the Dāksinātya Prākṛit of Bharata (K.M. XVIII 52) with Mahārāstri is ridiculed by S. M. Ghosh in XXV Calcutta Dept of letters p. 25. Another theory has been also put forward that Bhasa himself was the author of a Nāṭyaśāstra and preceded Bharata. Bhasa's salutation of Balarama for example in the Swapna is adduced in this connection particularly because this Balarama happens to be the presiding deity of the Tamiḷian stage in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The same writer has in that very article referred to the two 'extra' metres found in Bhasa and not dealt with in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. Of these, the Upajāti is nothing but a combination of the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā already taught in the N.S. itself as the writer himself notes in connection with Arśaśloka (p. 35 of the said article); anpacchan - dasika is the only one metre not dealt with in Bharata and found in Bhasa. As I have remarked





Keith has already (Sanskrit Drama p. 292) suggested that Bhāsa should have known & mentioned <sup>it</sup> in the *Nāṭya Śāstra* since he has mentioned <sup>it</sup> in the *Avi-* *mānaka*. Whether this was identical with Bharata's work or not is a moot point, but Keith seems inclined to accept the identity. This fact is strengthened by the absolute silence of *Be* <sup>is</sup> the *Nāṭya Śāstra* about the *Mahānāṭyū* *Prākṛit* as the





eastes.

Nor does the indecent and eccentric coxcomb, the Sakara described by both Bhase and Bharata help us in settling the chronology in any way. Bharata declares that his gait must be queer on account of his ugly person; with peculiar and perhaps too dazling dress, with ugly limbs and flowing clothes and long garlands, his haughty and defiant glances associate him with persons of the lowest morality. (Nāṭyaśāstra VIII Verses 167-180 Baroda Edn.)

He is called by that name as he premises soundly mispro-nounces the palatal sibilant ण instead of the dental and the lingual sibilants. Bharata refers him to an uncivilised hilly tribe wandering in the hills XVIII. 50. and in X. XIV. 105 refers to him as gaudily dressed उज्ज्वलवस्त्रधरः,, easily irritated and as easily pacified कुपयति निमिषतः प्रसीदति, of very low morals अधर्माः.

Abhinavagupta informs us that another drama-Pratijñāchārakya of a Mahākavi Bhima of whom nothing else is known - describes another Sakara by name Vinidhyaketu. Kautilya does not know this word Sakara, though he refers to a rāstrapala and a rāstramukhya but only as provincial governors.





83

-the way dramatic types almost exactly as Bharata speaks of them (like Madhyamavyayoga and Pancharātra, a Samavakāra) and one is tempted to hazard the guess that he must have flourished sufficiently long before the immediate followers of Bharata succeeded in prohibiting them from the stage altogether.

The XII 179 K.M. Ed. (= 215 et seq. Baroda Ed.) refers to the way in which kings and gods were to be offered simhāsana, priests and ministers came chairs, wooden seats for Brahmins, a seat prepared from munda or Bengal madder for queens, carpets for princes etc. But in the Dūta Vākya when Duryodhana requests Bhishma, Drona, his uncle Sākuni, Vaikarsana, and Varsadeva to be seated in the Durbar Hall for consulting, Drona is offered a Kirmāsana, Bhishma a Simhāsana, a charmāsana for his uncle, and the rest are requested to be conveniently seated in the Assembly according to the availability of the seats there. Here again Bhase does not follow Bharata's directions and from this we cannot draw any inference whether Bhase or Bharata was the earlier. Bhase might not have been worried about particular seats for the different





न भेद्यं नापि च भेद्यं न अपि रुधिरस्रुतिः ।

इदं प्रहृष्टं कार्यं न नापि व्यरुद्यतनम् ॥

राजामात्रेण कर्तव्यं शस्त्राणां मोक्षेण वृद्धे

अथाभिन्नयोपेतं कुरुष्वेद्यं विद्वान् ॥

This definitely implies that some mimic battles at least were sometimes permitted on the stage. The very fact that dramatic scenes like *Viprayoga*, or *Samavakāra* or *utkrāntikāra* dramatising military valour are referred to by Bharata is clear proof for the fact that in the beginning, depiction of battle-scenes and death on the stage was not uncommon. Many of these early dramas like the *Viprayogas* or *Samavakāras* are now lost for us, but curiously enough, Bhasa alone preserves for us some of the earliest specimens of dramas in which such heroic scenes culminating in the death of some character on the stage are represented. Patanjali's testimony is clear that in his day the *Sobhanikas* or the dramatic troupes represented Kamsa's death on the stage and Bhasa, almost a contemporary of his, makes his *Duryodhana* and *Vāli* die on the stage. As a matter of fact, the early Bhasa alone preserves for us some of the out-*of*





81  
outlook should be completely discarded. It is also inter-  
esting to note that Bharata refers to a Sthapaka Sūtra-  
dhāra who enters the stage after the exit of the  
Nāndī Sūtradhāra who performs the pūrvanga  
and departs (VI.150 K.M.E.)<sup>and</sup> whose personality is simi-  
lar to the regular sūtradhāra. This second Sūtradhāra  
is referred to by Bhāsa as prastāvana prastāvanīya  
sūtradhāra. Though there 2 Sūtradhāras were there  
usually, Bhāsa might have felt that the first one  
was not really necessary for the drama and he  
might have argued that some real purpose was  
served by the second who completed the prologue.  
Here also Bhāsa's lead might have been followed by  
Bharata's immediate successor, whoever he was, if he  
might not have been Bharata himself.

Exactly similarly, the prohibition of death scenes  
and battlescenes on the stage as found in Bharata  
now XV.111. 19 and 20 (K.M.E.) seems to have been  
the result of an overemphasis of the idealistic out-  
look popularised by the critics later than Bharata.  
This is rather inconsistent with Bharata's own  
statement in X.83 and 84, where he remarks:





is inexplicable why it should be absent at the end of the five dramas.

'Lokasya Chaitanyam nāṭyam' is Bharata's first definition of drama; in other words, it must, according to him, portray the various phases of human life exactly as they are found in society. Evidently when Bharata framed his rules of dramaturgy, dramas had not as yet become idealistic in outlook as they now are and ought to be as per rules. Bharata's dramas alone - and following him Śūdraka of course - are realist inasmuch as they depict life exactly at all levels, and the conclusion is therefore clear that they should have been composed long before the dramaturgic rules became strictly enforced. The critics who came after Bharata seem to have emphasised the 'hitopadeśajananam' (verse 79 I chapter ~~Kavya~~ <sup>Bharata</sup> ~~Ed.~~ <sup>of 1894</sup> or ~~Lokopadeśajananam~~ verse 81 Kavya Mala <sup>Ed.</sup>) found in Bharata's definition of nāṭyam almost immediately after, in the same context. To be consistent with this Lokopadeś aspect which would be obviously ~~the~~ out of place if the mirroring of life alone were the criterion, the critics soon after Bharata evidently agreed, the realistic





- 79 -  
Chapter IX - Bharata and Bhasa.

We are in doubt as to whether to call this chapter Bharata and Bhasa or Bhasa and Bharata since the question of relative chronology is yet undecided. But since the claim of Bharata (and also of Vatsyāyana in our ~~later~~<sup>next</sup> chapter) as a muni has been universally recognised as against Bhasa's whose claim is only sought to be established in these pages, we concede Bharata (and Vatsyāyana in our next chapter) the more honoured place.

The word 'Bharata Vākya' is not found at the end of five dramas of this series: 'Chārudatta', 'Ruchira', 'Madhyamavyayoga', 'Dutaghatotkaha', and 'Urubhangha' but is found at the end, as is quite usual with all other Sanskrit dramas, of the other eight dramas. But this fact by itself cannot enable us to conclude that Bhasa has known of the existence of Bharata. Actually, he writes themselves might have started the custom of writing this word at the end of every drama long after, but even on this supposition, it





heroes Duryodhana, Vali and more particularly Dasaratha. The Kausitaki Upanisad had declared that the wise scholar goes to a very different sort of Brahman heaven being escorted by nymphs or Apsaras after his death and Bhara cleverly connected this with his heroic warrior unflinchingly dying and attaining Virabanga. The Upanisads also speak of यत्तितस्तस्यैव शक्ति and Dasaratha's constant thinking of his son in the face of the Pratima just before his death is the highest type of Ekanta Bhakti taught in our Vedanta or in the devotional songs of a Purandara Dasa or Saint Tyagaraja.

1. The Ramayana for example speaks of a Vimana which comes to escort the soul of the dead sage killed by Dasaratha on the occasion of his hunt before his marriage. Ayodhya Kanda 64th Chapt - 51 - सवकुलाकु दिव्येन विमानेन वपुष्मता उत्तरोहृ दिवं गच्छति etc.





77  
 ततः प्रभामयी देवी शरीरान्तस्य निधाय ।  
 तमपृच्छत्स दैत्येन्द्रः सा श्रीरित्येनमकवीर ।  
 उचितास्मि स्वयं वीर तथैव सत्यपराक्रमे ।  
 त्वया त्यक्ता गमिष्यामि खलं ह्यनुयातो ह्यहम् ॥  
 ततो भयं प्रादुरासीत्स हृदस्य महात्मनः (exactly as in Sanskrit)  
 अपृच्छत्स ततो दूयः क्व गच्छिषि कमलालये (cf. भास'पद्मालये)  
 त्वं हि सत्यपरा देवि लोकस्य परमेश्वरि  
 शीलेन हि स्यो लोका त्वया धर्मेन निर्जिताः  
 तद्विशम्य स्तुरेद्देव तव शीलं हृतं प्रभो  
 धर्मः सत्यं तथा वृत्तं खलं चैव तथा हि हृत  
 शीलसूता महाप्राज्ञ तथा नास्ति संधाय ॥ २६

Anybody can see that this story must have been at  
 the back of Bhāsa's mind when he wrote the memorable  
 bloodcurdling scene in which Kamsa sees a number  
 of Chandala girls entering his mind after his son's desertion  
 of him. The scene is so bewildering and weird and is  
 perhaps without a peer in world literature, being more  
 bloodcurdling than the ghost scene in Hamlet.

Enough has been said to suggest Bhāsa's  
 proximity to Vyasa. One could also adduce in this  
 connection the clever utilisation of the सदातश्चित्  
 भावितव्य of the Bhagavad Gita VIII. 6 in the dying





76  
My virtues invested in me the necessary strength to  
conquer heaven. The disciple at once prayed for a gift  
of those very virtues. Prahlada's Suvarata was snatched away  
from him and later he could be easily dislodged  
from Svarga. The moment Prahlada ~~granted~~ the boon,  
a resplendent Sakti emerged from his body. Prahlada  
asked the resplendent form in dismay 'Who are you? (even  
as Kansa accosts his Sri which leaves his body because  
of Vishnu's order). The Sakti replied 'I am Prahlada's  
virtue, I am bound for my new home. After a few  
minutes, another effulgent light issued out of the  
body again. Again Prahlada asked that who it was.  
The reply was 'I am the Dharmadevatā in Prahlada's  
body. Where are you bound? Was Prahlada's next  
question and the reply was 'When virtue and good  
thoughts have deserted your body, my place to live  
is gone! The slokas themselves are so lovely:

वृत्तं प्रह्लादं मां विद्धि यत्सत्त्वं ततो ह्यहम् ।  
नास्मिन् गते महाशब्दः द्वासीरत्तस्य निर्धयो ।  
पृष्ट्वाहं वक्तुं विद्धि यतो वृत्तामहं ततो नृप ॥  
इत्युक्त्वा प्रययो लत्र यतो वृत्तं नराधिप ।



वनपर्व-तीर्थयात्रापर्व-148. Kumbhak 72.

Shrima's path is being blocked by Hanuman

आसि जाकायने मार्गे कदलीविषममाण्डिते ।

भातुभीमस्य रक्षार्थं तं मार्गमवरुध्य वै ॥ ५६ ॥

161. ॥ ५६ ॥ Verse 42 - तदेकाग्रनमासाद्य विषमं

भीमदहनम् । बहुतालोप्यं शृंगमारुरोहं महाबलम् ॥

Prof Devadhar in his glossary of difficult words as अशक्ति or helpless, but this deserves to be better interpreted as 'standing at bay'. Bhāsa, as a very close student of the epics, seems to have had his cue for interpreting the word thus from the way in which Vyasa used it in the Gadāyuddha 59<sup>th</sup> chapter. The slokas are

सुयोधनः कृती वीरः । कायनगतस्तथा ।

पुनरावर्तमानां भगानां जीवितविनाशः ।

भेदव्यमरिशेषाणां कायनगता हि ते ।

साहसोत्पत्तिनां च निराशां च जीविते ।

न शक्यमग्रतः स्थानं शक्यं वापि धनञ्जय ।

आदर्शधर्मः

This epic in VII. 124 has yet another lovely story.

about the nature of ādarsa dharma which Bhāsa has utilised in his Bālacharita. The story can be briefly narrated thus: Once Prahlada who had conquered Indra subjugated the entire Svarga. Indra cleverly disguised himself as a devoted disciple and began to serve Prahlada as a devoted disciple. After some time, the guru was so completely impressed with his 'disciple's' virtues that he straightway promised to give him a boon. The false disciple at once asked him 'How did you acquire your heavenly kingdom?' Prahlada replied

look of the 12 subjects already shared by Vande in 6th and 7th chapters. He comes to his friend for further enlightenment VII. i. 2

this word is explained as पञ्चरात्र philosophy in the





for Kamsa's death by introducing a Madhuka Rsi's curse. There are other minor variations as Nandagopa being condemned under constant chains; these chains mysteriously fall off when he takes the Divine Baby Krishna into his arms. Bhasa's story does not refer to the Rāsa Krīdā of the later Harivamśa or the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and is satisfied with referring to Krishna's dance as the Hallsāka dance of the cowherds. If some contradictions also come in, they are Ghorasundarī, Vanamālā, Chandra-rekhā and Mṛgākṣī and Rādhā does not all come into the picture. The story as narrated in Bhasa agrees in some important particulars with some Jain legends as for example in Nemimātha Purāṇa. Even here unfortunately for us, the Nemimātha Purāṇa was composed in the 10<sup>th</sup> cen A.D., but it definitely seems to have had a far earlier Jain version similar to the Buddhist Jātakas in the centuries slightly prior to the Christian Era. As a matter of fact, the Buddhist Ghaṭa Jātakā story of Kambhāpandita agrees with this to a certain extent. section (b) - 'Ekāyana'. This word occurring in Pratiśā

I-7-इत्येकायनरथश्च किमन्यमस्ति पद्यं is explained by





73  
us that he knew that the Kurupāṇḍava yuddha had taken place. The new message of Ghatotkacha - not at all repeated in the epic - is again another offshoot of Bhāsa's message to a war-ridden world of Sauvātrātram and might have been suggested by Arjuna's dantyaṃ in the sister epic. Similar is the deviation about Duryodhana's wives, the epic referring to only one Bhānumati; the son Duryodhana whom we meet in Bhāsa is not to be seen in the epic where Duryodhana's son is named Lakṣmana and is far older than the lovely baby boy of Bhāsa.

The Bhāgavata-purāṇa cannot of course be added as Tīyasa; even in the orthodox circles, the Vīṇa-māna is considered prior to the Bhāgavata, but that is beside our point at present. We may, on this occasion, speak of a 'Bhāgavata epic' of which we may declare the modern Bhāgavata purāṇa to be the legal descendant. This Bhāgavata epic, if we could so call it, might have existed in Bhāsa's time and might have been lost for us now. As we have it now, the Bhāgavata refers to Kṛṣṇa as the 8<sup>th</sup> son of Devaki and refers to the aśvini-kā as predicting the birth of Kṛṣṇa who would be his future killer. But Bhāsa refers to Kṛṣṇa as the 7<sup>th</sup> and not the 8<sup>th</sup> 'dūrghāyru' or son of Devaki and accounts





72.  
तेन शरे विद्युन्ते as already observed in Chapter II, refers to an  
'astraparikṣā' in which Bhīma also was tested exactly  
as he had another test for proving Arjuna's superiority.  
And it is quite possible that both Bhīma and Arjuna also  
might have performed austerities to please Śiva. Śrī  
Madhva of the 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D., the famous Dvaitācārya,  
in his Mañābhārata-tātparyā nirṇaya refers to Vyāsa's  
own sentences, but many of these ~~are not~~ 'own  
sentences' are not traceable in the extant editions of  
the epic. If this is the case with reference to such a  
late writer of the 12<sup>th</sup> cen., we can easily guess  
that with reference to a writer who was more than 12  
centuries prior to him, many more such alterations  
could easily be traced.

There may be other variations from Vedavyāsa,  
but we do not feel justified in arguing that they might  
represent lost or other recensions of the epic not preserved  
now. To take but one or two examples, the Pañcharātra  
story of the war being dispensed with was only introduced  
by Bhāsa in the wake of the message of good brotherli-  
ness or Sambhāratam for which he seems to have ser-  
vantly had a liking. The Urukhaṅga makes it clear for



The Maithyamalyāyoga in which there is a fight between Ghatotkacha and his father Bhima seems to have been inspired by Bhima's encounter with his elder brother Hanuman in the Vanaparva Tirtha yātrāparva chap 148 Kumbhak Edn in which Bhima's further progress into the heavenly regions is blocked by the monkey. Just as Ghatotkacha is discomfited here, Bhima is discomfited in the epic and in the end both are happy.

In the Dronaparva chaps 80-81 the attainment of ११३५ ११११

71  
 यदि द्वेनं नाहनिष्ठ्य कर्णः शत्रुया महासृष्टेः ।  
 मया वदयोऽष्टविधसु सौष्मसेनिर्धटोत्तरः ॥  
 मया न निहतः पूर्वं तु य युष्मात्प्रियेसया ।  
तुष हि त्रिभिर्गणद्वेषी यशदेवी च राक्षसः  
धर्मस्य कोहा पापामा नरमादेष्ट निपातितः ॥

(Kumbhak-Ed: Drama Purva 182<sup>nd</sup> Chap, 25, 26, 27 Verse).

Evidently, Bhara in the Madhyama Vyayoga seems to remember such an episode wherein Bhatacharya figures as a killer of Yajnas and also of the Brahmins. As we have the epic at present, such episodes have been carefully pruned off.

In the same drama again, Bhima makes a remark which deserves to be carefully noted: अस्मि महेन्द्रपुत्रस्य भक्तौ मायापारा मोक्षमंत्रः. As everybody can see, Bhima refers to himself as having been blessed by Isvara just as Arjuna was blessed with the Patāstra. So perhaps there was an earlier version according to which both Arjuna and Bhima prayed and propitiated Siva; later with the glorification of Arjuna alone, this penance of Bhima seems to have been forgotten. The Panchanātra III. 12, कर्णयते





Sarvanātha of the Khoh copper plate inscription of 533 A.D already styles the epic a इतिहाससिंहसंहितम् and the epic tells us that without the उपākhyānas, it was a ननु तिहाससिंहसंहितम्. The northern version contained only 24,000 ślokas. The northern version of the epic has, according to Hopkins' calculation 84,126 verses excluding Harivamśa. The Southern or the Kumbakonam recension has about 12,000 more verses, to be exact 96,578 verses only and wants nearly 3,500 verses to make it a lakh. Evidently there must have been a time when there were many more episodes which might have been slowly dropped out for various reasons. It looks as though Bhāsa lived very soon after Vyasa even before these episodes came to be slowly discarded.

One of such episodes seems to have been the Ghatotkacha episode dramatised in the Mahābhārata. Vyāsa's remark, on Ghatotkacha's death, remarks in the epic as we have it at present:





69  
sacrifice of grammar and avoidance of Sindhī  
rules and similar epic or āśa devices which  
are favourably used in the Trivandrum Bhāṣa  
and link him with the epic poets. He has also  
drawn attention to certain passages where unimpor-  
tant prose is mixed with fancy metres mostly  
lyrical e.g. Pañcharātra II. 27 to the end, Pratinā I  
9 to 28; Maadhyaṃ 12 to 45<sup>th</sup> Verse; these <sup>are</sup> rudimen-  
tary attempts at dramatisation which are not  
quite emancipated from the limitations of the epic  
prototype" - p. 99. Analecta.





68  
explained by Govindaraja as 'रक्षणीयं वस्तु' 'Commenting  
on किकिर्वा SLP 23

भवान् कलत्रं मत्माकं स्वामिभावे व्यवस्थितः।

स्वामी कलत्रं सैन्यस्य गतिरेवा परन्तप ।

तस्मात्कलत्रं तत्रात परिपाद्यः शब्दा भवान् ॥

Bhāṣa's Ratified I.4. सर्वं हि सैन्यमनुरागभूते कलत्रं -

'Every soldier in the army is to be carefully protected  
like the wife - if not it becomes mercenary and is

devoid of loyal devotion' is exactly similar to the  
epic usage. Similarly in the *Harimānaka* I. (P115-

Devadhar) we read:

राजा - किमस्मत्स्य कलत्रम् ?

भूतिकः - सर्वमस्ति । कलत्रं सयमनिविष्टम् ।

obviously the reply of the Minister who has instituted  
secret inquiries into the 'Chandalā's (?) antecedents,  
means, he has a family (to protect), but he has  
himself not taken a wife.

Epic phrases<sup>2</sup> like अतिरे नैव कलिन, कस्यगन्धिव  
मेदिनी, शक्तिः कलानकोपमा and so on - as noted by Dr  
V. S. Sukthankar in his 'Versification of Metrical  
Portions' in *Studies in Bhāṣa* are too many to be  
individually noted. The scholar has also noted

<sup>2</sup> भर्तृनाथश्चरति याः - *Rām. Ayaṁ* - 117. 25. & echoed in भर्तृनाथहि नार्थः. *Pratimā* I. 25



1. Pāṇini might say that the mother's name could be adopted only in case the father's name was unknown - पितुर्संदिग्धेन मात्रा व्यापदेशः पुत्रस्य कुत्सा; but in the long distinguished list of वंश as for example in the शतसप्तशतक no such कुत्सा could have been implied and Patanjali actually attributes this to an honourable custom गार्गीमातः, वासीमातः III. 3.40. Inscriptions of the contemporary शुङ्ग & Andhra periods also confirm this by their adoption of metonymies as वासीपुत्र & गार्गीपुत्र.

If Sumitra in the epic advises अयोध्यायां नृणां  
 विधि and the subjects declare अयोध्यायां नृणां विधि  
 संभवतां वनात् or अयोध्यायां भवेत्तस्या रामहीना यथा वनात्  
 Bharata makes us understand the idea much better  
 when he declares in Ratna III-24 - नारयोऽयं नृणां  
 अयोध्यायां नृणां वनात्. The epic fondly compares  
 Rama to the moon and Bhasa has also frequently  
 repeated the same comparison and popularised the  
 name Rāmachandra just as Bharatbhuti was fond  
 of the name Rāma Bhadra. The epic makes  
 Vis'vāmitra call Rama affectionately as <sup>नृणां सुपुत्रः</sup> addressed  
 and Bhasa also makes his heroes as <sup>नृणां सुपुत्रः</sup> addressed  
 सुमित्रा मातः. (exactly as in the Brhadāranyako-  
 panisad where people are referred to as गौतमीपुत्र,  
 or पाराशरीपुत्र, similarly the Sātarvāhanas call  
 themselves in the inscriptions वात्सीपुत्र, गार्गीपुत्र, etc.  
 use of the word महेयमा in its peculiar sense  
 exactly as in Valmiki has already been referred to.  
 We might also compare the significance of the  
 word "कलत्रं" in Valmiki and Bhasa. This word has been





Bhāsa

अङ्गे मे स्पृश कोसलो न तं पश्यामि चक्षुः  
 रामं प्रति गता बुद्धिरद्यापि न निवर्तते (प्रतिमा II. 18 - Dying Dasratha says this.)

रामलक्ष्मणयोर्मध्ये तिष्ठन्तत्रापि मैत्रिली  
 Pratiimā II. 15 - Same context.

धत्ताः सन्तु जे वातास्तटाकपरिवर्तिनः  
 विचरन्तं वने रामं ये स्पृशन्ति यथाशुभम् ॥  
 Pratiimā II. 12 - Same context.  
 Dasratha entreating the winds to touch him  
 after touching Rama in forest.

दैवं पुरुषकारेण वञ्चयिष्याम्यहं पुरुषम्  
 Bala II. 14 - Kamsa says she will frustrate  
 fate

नैवेद्यानीं तादृशभिरावाका नैवाप्यग्रे स्त्रीनिर्गणैः  
 विमुक्ताः Svapna I. 16 - Where Bhāsa compares  
 Udayana & Vasavadatta to a loving couple.

अनाहारं तुल्यः प्रवल्करुदितो चरुनक्षयतः -  
 Svapna I. 17 where Udayana is pathetically  
 described.

भर्तृनाथा हि नार्यः - प्रतिमा I. 25 -

Vālmiki.

चक्षुषा लोको न पश्यामि स्मृतिर्नमविमुच्यते  
 (Vālmiki's Ramayana 65.10-11, 65.12-13)  
 न तं पश्यामि कोसलो राघुसंनिधौ स्पृश  
 रामं ये प्रगता बुद्धिरद्यापि न निवर्तते - अयोध्या  
 - 42.1-2, 43-34 - Verse.

अग्रतो गच्छ सीमित्रे सीता नामनुगच्छतु  
 पृष्ठतोऽनुगमिष्यामि सीतां लोचानुवाचकतः  
 अयोध्या LV. 96. Verse.

अग्रतः प्रययौ रामः मध्यं सीता मुनयसा  
 पृष्ठतस्तु धनुष्याजिर्लक्ष्मणोऽनुगमामह ॥  
 अरण्य XI.

वाहि वातः यतः कान्तातां स्पृशामासपि  
 स्पृश - युष्म. काण्ड. V. 6.  
 Rama asks the forest winds to blow  
 up to Sita & later return to him.

वीराः संभावितान्मानः न दैवं धर्मुपाहते ।  
 दैवं पुरुषकारेण यः समर्थः प्रवर्तितुम्  
 न दैवेन विपन्नार्थः पुरुषः सोऽवसीदति -  
 अयोध्या - XXIV - Lakshmana whispering  
 against fate.

सहचरराहितेन चक्रवाकी जनकसुता  
 रूपमां दृष्टं प्रपन्ना - सुन्दर - 30 - Hanu  
 - man Comparing Sita to a chakravartī

द्वयं सा यत्कृते रामस्तुभिः परितमते ।  
 कारुण्येनानुरागं शोकेन मदनेन च ॥  
 सुन्दर - 82.49 - Where Hanuman sees  
 Sita.

राघवोऽहंति वैदेहीं तं ये यमसिनेभ्यः  
 भर्तृनाथा धरानि योः - अयोध्या - 117-20  
 Same context.





I quote only one instance to prove my point. The careful reader can easily find out many other correspondences between Bhāsa's version and this story of the Bhāṣa epic. I want to draw the attention of scholars to this version of the Rama story and also to other versions current in our different languages for example *Aśvaghāṭa Rāmāyaṇa*, *Padma Purāṇa* versions in Sanskrit, *Kaṁbar* in Tamil, *Padma Purāṇa* versions in Sanskrit, *Kaṁbar* in Tamil, *Torave* in Kannada, *Aśvaghāṭa* in Telugu, *Rāmacharita* in Hindi etc; in all of them, the story is almost similar, particularly in making Kaikeyi beg of Dasaratha for the two boons; but in Bhāsa alone, the kingdom is spoken of as *rājyaśilpā*, as having been her brideprice promised to her at the time of her marriage. This peculiarity alone is sufficient warrant for us to guess that Bhāsa seems to have known other versions of the story as were current in his days, but which evidently became completely overshadowed by Valmiki almost to the point of supersession.

Some of the striking similarities in thought and expression are put in parallel columns with the *Caṇḍa* (references being to the *Kaṁbar* etc. of the epic and to *Devadāsa* etc.)





and ~~अतमय~~ ~~हो~~ had not become very strict then.

There is a Rāmopākhyāna parva, 18<sup>th</sup> sub-section in the Vana parva of the Mahābhārata comprising of the chapters from 274 to 293 (Kumbhak Edn). This differs in important respects from the Ramayana and we cannot hazard any guess as to whether this was summarised from Valmiki's version. It is not necessary for us to examine the relative priority of these two versions, but it is interesting to note that Bhāsa's story in the Pratimā and the Abhisēka follows the Rāmopākhyāna of Vyāsa rather than Valmiki's, at least in one or two important points. After Indrajit's death, Bhāsa makes Ravana dash out to Sītā to kill her with one stroke of his sword when a servant intervenes and declares (Abhisēka V end) - अवश्यं स्त्रीवधो न कर्तव्यः and accordingly Ravana starts out for the famous Rama Ravana yuddh Adhyaya 290 of the Rāmopākhyāna Parva Verses 27 et seq are

रावणः शोकमोहात्ते वैदेहीं हनुमुद्यतः ।  
 विदुमादाय पुष्टात्मा जवेनाभिपपात ह ॥  
 ते दृष्ट्वा तस्य दुर्बलैः अविद्वजः पापनिधयः ।  
 रामयामास संक्रुधे ... न स्त्रियं हनुमहीति  
 P 458 - Kumbhak Edn





63  
Kauva's Kusāla. But Valmiki who flourished centuries  
before Manu or Kalidasa is never bothered about this  
rule. In Bālakānda II. 25 (Kumbhak ed.) Valmiki  
greeted Brahma with an 'anāmaya' prashna-pranama.  
vidhivacchainam prastvānāmayaṁ vyāgham. In the  
same Kanda further on, when Dasaratha greets  
Viśvāmitra a Brahmin sage, both the king and  
the sage mutually enquire about each other's कुशले.  
Vasistha is also greeted with a कुशले प्रश्न. Similarly  
Bhāsa also jumbles up the Kusāla and anāmaya  
enquiries promiscuously as for example in Dūtābhāṣya  
19th Verse - धर्मोत्तमो वायुसुतश्च भीमो आतापुनो मे निदर्शयन्तुः  
यमैश्च तावद्विस्तुतो विरीतो सर्वे सभृताः कुशलोऽप्यन्ताः॥  
Though they are Kṣātriyas. Krishna replies, pretending  
not to have understood the insinuation (that the  
Pandavas are illegitimate sons of gods and so not at all  
entitled to patrimony), affectionately reciprocating the  
sentiments and continues - भवते राजे शरीरे जाह्नवा-  
भानरे च कुशलमनामयं च पृष्ट्वा. From this one is tempted  
to conclude that Bhāsa might have lived very close  
to Valmiki when the Dharmasastra rule about the कुशले





62.  
अथर्ववेदोपनिषद् ॥ Kalidasa's explanation for her step,  
the 14 days into years when she asked for Ramasville  
seems to have been suggested to Bhara by Bhima's  
arguing with his elder brother in Chapter 49 of the  
Vanaparva (Kumbhak. Edn) Verses 23 et seq. In the  
course of the argument, he urges that there is Vedic  
authority to regard the day and the night together  
as one year - अहोरात्रं महासप्तकं संवत्सरः ॥ तथैव  
वेदवचनं श्रूयते निम्नो विभो । ... यदि वेदाः प्रमाणं ते  
दिवसादूतमप्युत । त्रयोदशादितः कालो रात्रौ परिनिष्ठितः ॥  
In the context, he urges that if they spend 13 full days  
and nights, it could legally be tantamount to 13  
years and the period of their exile would be ingeniously  
over.

Kalidasa is very punctilious about following  
Manu's rule - ब्राह्मणं कुक्षं पृच्छेत् क्षत्रियं द्युमातामयं in  
all the contexts where he makes others greet a Brahmin  
or a Kshatriya e.g. in the East of the Sakuntala the sage  
disciples of Kanva greet Dusyanta with an inquiry  
of his 'anāmaya' and the king in reply enquires about





Brahma according to this context composed it elaborately in a 100 crore of Verses. Narada learnt it from him and spoke to Valmiki about the same. Later he condensed it into five Pakhs. This fact seems to have been hinted at by Valmiki himself in the opening chapters of his immortal epic where also Brahma and Narada visit him just before he commenced writing down the epic. We will try to show in this and the following chapters that Bhasa's style links him with Pre-Christian Era authors like Valmiki, Vyasa, Bharata, Kautilya and Vatsyayana and also with the earliest Dharmasasthrakas like Gautama, Apastamba, Manu and others.

.....  
Bhasa is such an ardent student of Valmiki and Vyasa that his style is almost unconsciously full of their epic phrases and ideas. The title 'Pancharātra' was suggested to him by the Ayodhya Kanda 62<sup>nd</sup> adhyāya Verse 17 - वनवासस्य रामस्य पञ्चरात्रोऽद्य गण्यते । अः शोकोपहृत्कृषिः ।





५७२ वर्षोपमो मस ॥ Kaikeyi's explanation for her slip of  
 the 14 days into years when she asked for Bharata  
 seems to have been suggested to Bharata by Bhima's  
 arguing with his elder brother in Chapter 49 of the  
 Vanaparva (Kumbhak. Edn) Verses 23 et seq. In the  
 course of the argument, he urges that there is Vedic  
 authority to regard the day and the night together  
 as one year - अहोरात्रं महाराज कृत्वा संवत्सरेण ह । तथैव  
 वेदवचनं श्रूयते निम्नो विभो । ... यदि वेदाः प्रमाणं ते  
 दिग्गदायुर्जममुत । त्रयोदशादितः कालो रात्रौ परिनिमित्तः ॥  
 In the context, he urges that if they spend 13 full days  
 and nights, it could legally be tantamount to 13  
 years and the period of their exile would be ingeniously  
 over.

Kalidasa is very punctilious about following  
 Manu's rule - ब्राह्मणं कुशलं पृच्छेत् क्षत्रियं पुमान्नामसं in  
 all the contexts where he makes others greet a Brahmin  
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 disciples of Kanva greet Dusyanta with an inquiry  
 of his 'anāmaya' and the king in reply enquires about





Brahma according to this context composed it elaborately in a 100 crore of Verses. Narada learnt it from him and spoke to Valmiki about the same. Later he condensed it into five Lakhs. This fact seems to have been hinted at by Valmiki himself in the opening chapters of his immortal epic where also Brahma and Narada visit him just before he commenced writing down the epic. We will try to show in this and the following chapters that Bhāsa's style links him with Pre-Christian Era authors like Valmiki, Vyāsa, Bharata, Kautilya and Vātsyāyana and also with the earliest Dharmasāstrakas like Gautama, Apastamba, Manu and others.

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 Bhāsa is such an ardent student of Valmiki and Vyāsa that his style is almost unconsciously full of their epic phrases and ideas. The title Pancharātra was suggested to him by the Ayojyā Kanda 62<sup>nd</sup> adhyāya  
 - वनवासस्य रामस्य पञ्चरात्रोऽयं गण्यते । अ. शोकेन हतहृषीकेशेन ।





The epics as known to Bhāsa must have been in a rather fluid state just before their final and fixed redaction. Bhāsa seems to have known some epic poets earlier than Valmiki and Viyasa though he does not refer to them expressly by name. Aśva-ghoṣa for example in his *Buddhacharita* I.43 seems to have known at least one such

Chyavana by name when he said वात्सीकिरदौ च ससर्जं पद्यं जगत्सु यन्तं रावणो महर्षिः and

the *Matṣya Purāṇa* (chap. LII stanza 68) refers to Viśvānara and Nārada as having composed Rāmopākhyānas which were later summarised by Valmiki.

वात्सीकिना तु वत्सोक्तं रामोपाख्यानमुत्तमम् ।  
ब्रह्मणामिहितं यच्च शतकोटिप्रविसारम् ॥  
आहूता नारदाद्यैव तेन वात्सीकये पुनः  
वात्सीकिना च लोकेषु धर्मकोमार्थसाधनम् ।  
एवं सप्तदाः पश्येते लक्ष्य मर्त्ये प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

Lakshmi Venkateshvara Press (Dn).





was asked to protect for a few nights ~~दशरथ~~ — was well  
 known in the time of the Ramayana. Vishvāmitra there  
 requested Dasaratha to spare his son to protect  
 his 'Dasarātra' sacrifice. The same tradition seems  
 to be implied in Bhāsa's Pancharātra Yajna where  
 curiously the plot of the drama is also made to  
 cover the same number of nights as was required  
 for the duration of the sacrifice. The observance of the  
 fasts and other religious vows, the performance of  
 obsequial brāddhas and ceremonial pitātarpans  
 and above all the fitting even of prostitutes into the  
 affectionate family fold are some other noteworthy  
 features.





4) Early idioms. We may also note some peculiar idioms, the like of which are not usually met with in later classical literature as in Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti etc.

1) अक्षीणिं मी कुरु = please make me strong by complying with my request - Pratyā IV - p. 103.

2) अहं नव प्रभावी नरु ? = Have I power over you? - Pancho I. p. 383.

3) अपरिजयतु न शिष्यते मे मनसि - The term of address as 'Oh sage'! being not usual for me, does not fit into my mind - Svapna I. p. 3.

5) Religious Atmosphere: The atmosphere in which these dramas are steeped deserves particular notice. The youngsters always make it a point to prostrate themselves before the elders as a matter of course; the upasparsa or the holy or ceremonial sipping of the waters after any impurity as a sneeze or weeping being strictly enforced also should be noted. One of the dramas speaks of a Śatākumbha Yajna, evidently a rare type of Yajna that was being celebrated in those days. The tradition of Yagnis that were performed at night - which was remembered by Kati - dāsa in Sakuntala II in the sacrifice that Dusyanta





money. This was done for example by Duryodhana in  
 the Pancharatra - Bharata's deviation from the epic  
 is to be noted here. The Dharmasastras ordained that  
 the eldest should, as a matter of duty, afford the  
 younger brothers the needed protection and shelter.  
 Manus, for example, decreed *यद्येवमन्यतः कृत्वा*  
*दानमशेषतः। शेषास्तस्य वजीने शुः पश्येत् पितरं तदा॥* He  
 also decrees in the same context that if the eldest in  
 some cases denied his younger brother the needed  
 shelter, he should be forthwith deprived of his privi-  
 leged enjoyment of the entire paternal property.  
*यो ज्येष्ठो विनिकुर्वीत सतीति भ्रातृन्यवीरसः। शोऽज्येष्ठः स्यात्*  
*अभाष्य विनियन्तव्यश्च राजभिः॥* and Vishnu seems to  
 paraphrase the word *विनिकुर्वीत* by *वीर्येण* when  
 he made Rama say - *अथ न न परिभोगेन विनियन्तव्यं*  
*Pratimā I. 14*, that his not getting the Kingdom  
 as a *यज्ज* was advantageous to him inasmuch as  
 he would not be then accused of deceiving his  
 younger brothers.





passage in the <sup>56</sup>Śāhityadarpanā where the affection of  
Rama and Sita is referred to by this term न चरिते शोभते  
यन्नापैति प्रेम मनोगतं । तन्नीति रागमाख्यानि यथा श्रीरामसीत्यो  
Apte in his dictionary explains the term as affection  
as unchangeable as the colour of the indigo, unalter-  
able or unswerving attachment. Strangely enough,  
Mācchakāṭikā, omits this verse as though to avoid trouble.

3) ज्येष्ठा - The Balacharita towards the end of  
Act I, makes Vasudeva look at his house and  
remark: दृष्टं खलु दुरात्मनः कंसस्य गृहं ज्येष्ठाश्रितं  
इव दृश्यते । दूदसस्मदीयं गृहं त्रिभारुण्डागित दृश्यते. This

ज्येष्ठा seems to be the elder sister Alakṣmī  
referred to in the Śrī Sūkta of the Rgveda,  
as being ready to destroy, while the younger  
sister Śrī or Lakṣmī is the goddess of Fortune. In  
this context, the compound is explained as ज्येष्ठा  
आश्रितं; while if the explanation is given as  
ज्येष्ठेन आश्रितं, the sense might be that the eldest  
appropriated the entire property only to deprive  
the younger brothers of their share in the patri-





2) Nīla sneha. This colour problem leads us on to another very interesting word नीलस्नेह in the 'Charudatta III. 12. तथा विभवमन्तोऽपि जन्मभूमि व्यपेक्षका। गृहं विजयकंकेऽपि नीलस्नेहेन रक्षति ॥. Dr. Ganapati Sastri understood this word metaphorically and explained: नीलो नीलीरामः तस्य दृशः स्नेहः, दृढस्नेह इत्यर्थः। नीलीरामो हि वसुधाया वाक्यः नापैति, तद्ददनपापः स्नेहः नीलस्नेह इत्येकः। यादवकोशः, also called Vaijayaṅṭi, written by a Vaishnavite saint of Kānchi in the 11th cen A.D. paraphrases the word as स्तिरप्रेमा or steady affection, the Amarakośa having nothing to say about it. The Vaijayaṅṭi Comment as found in Gopert's Edn. of 1893 (p. 203) is नीलीरामः स्तिरप्रेमा, हरिद्वारगकः पुनः। अस्तिरप्रेमो ॥. In other words he supplies us the interesting information that unsteady affection is assigned the kāichrā colour. Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra R. M. Edn. XXI. 65 refers to this नील as the strongest of the colours - वर्णस्य तु नीलस्य नीलस्नेहो हि कीर्तितः। The same Bharata in VI. 47-48 associates different colours with different rasas, but this has nothing to do with our context. The only other place where this नीलस्नेह occurs seems to be the





further down, the colours are white (23<sup>rd</sup> verse), red (24), green  
 (27) and black (32). Here the difference between Bhāṣa and  
 Bhāṣya might be noted, and even in the Bhāṣya  
 itself, the earlier context would refer to white, red, yellow  
 and black, but in XI Skandha, the colour for the dvāpāra  
 is green and not yellow. The red may be absent in  
 Bhāṣa's Pañcāhita, but we might assign the colour  
 to the 2 avatāras Varāha and Nara-simha, referred to in  
 the Arimānaka and Karmadhāra Nāndis since in both these  
 Viṣṇu tears up the two rākṣasas and is literally bathed  
 in their red colour. The Mahābhārata Vanaparva 192<sup>nd</sup>  
 chapter 31<sup>st</sup> verse also refers to these colours: श्वेतः कृत्तयुगे वक्त्रः  
 पीतस्तैत्तयुगे मम। रक्तो द्वापरमासाद्य कृष्णः कर्त्तयुगे तथ॥ This  
 colour problem reminds us of a similar story in the  
 Bhārata epic in the Rāmā Parva 35<sup>th</sup> chapter where the  
 white good people and the black villains are compared  
 to Hamsas and Kākās or yet again the Hamsa-tīrtha  
 and the Vāyasa-tīrtha introduced similarly in Bhāṣya  
 I. 5.10 - तद्दामसं तीर्थमुशान्ति सन्तः न यत्र हंसा निरमन्त्युपश्रिताः



In the Mahābhārata Vanaparva तीर्थयात्रापर्व 152 Adhyāya  
Hanumān explains to his brother Bhīme that Viṣṇu is  
शुक्ल in Kṛta yuga (verse 18), <sup>त्रेतायां</sup> ~~द्वैपाये~~ रक्तं याति जायते (Verse 23)  
द्वैपाये पीतं याति विष्णुः (verse 28), तामसं युगमासाद्य कृष्णो  
भवति के शतः (verse 35).

कालिः शयानो भवति मंजिहातस्तु द्वापरः ।

उच्छिष्टं स्तेनो भवति, कृते संयद्यते चरन् ॥

and Bhāsa seems to be another such early writer. The  
Mr. C. Lakshika II. 9 seems to remember the older sense of  
the dicing throw when it says *treta kṛta samasat*  
that the gambler loses his entire property as a result of  
this dice throw. <sup>The Chandogya Upanishad IV. 14 refers to one defeated in gambling as कृतवर्ति</sup> The Bhāgarata Purana I Skandha, <sup>in the</sup> <sup>beginning</sup>  
VIII. 13 in the context where Yama supplies the reason  
why he names Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa as such remarks,

आसन्वर्णस्त्रयो ह्यस्य गृह्णीतुमुगं तवः । शुक्लो रक्तस्य पीत  
इदानीं कृष्णतां गतः ॥ In the same context a bit earlier,  
in III. 20, Vasudeva praises the baby Kṛṣṇa as follows. It  
is born: स त्वं त्रिलोकस्थितये स्वमायया विभर्षि शुक्लं वक्रं वर्णमात्मनः ।  
सर्गाय रक्तं रजसोपबृंहितं कृष्णं च वर्णं तमसा जगत्सये ॥

Here the colours are only 3, yellow being omitted and  
the colours are only such as correspond to the three guṇas  
Sattva, rajas and tamas. But in the previous context, 4  
colours, white, red, yellow, and black are mentioned  
as in Bhāsa or in the *Gitā*. The same Bhāgarata XI, 5,  
27, द्वापरे भगवान् इयमः पीतवासाः नि जायते । श्रीकृष्णो वि  
अङ्गुष्ठं लक्ष्मीः उपलक्षितः ॥ refers to the द्वापरयुगावतार as  
being green in colour, agreeing with Bhāsa. In that context,





Of course he refers to 2 more avatāras, those of Narasimha and Varāha in the Kamadhāra and Kirmāra Nāntas, and these seem to be the only six he refers to and from the way in which he speaks of only four in the four yugas here, one is tempted to regard them as the earliest to be conceived as avatāras. In this connection, it would be pertinent to refer to the famous *Gitā* verse *paritrāṇāya sādhumāṃ vināśāya cha durīkṛtām | dharmasamsthāp anārhāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge* "IV. 8". The compound from yuge yuge is *prati-yugam* and signifies 'in every yuga', and here also by implication, the avatāras seem to be only four for the 4 yugas respectively. (In this context, it would be interesting to note that the four words, *kṛta*, *treta*, *dvāpara*, *kali*, *pāvara*, *nardita* and *kata* refer in Vedic literature to the different 'throws' in dicing, one, two, three, four from the lowest to the highest and then again in the reverse order. Even as late as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* I. 6. 'Even as the lower throws of the dice are consummated in the highest throw (एतं श्रेष्ठं वा) so to this man whatever good that beings do all is consummated in him'. Perhaps the *Hitareya Brahmana* Vol. IV p. 72 (1906 Edn) is one of the earliest passages where the word *yuga* occurs in the modern sense:



The Tamil poem Kirandaiyā poem 2 has a line which is translatable as: You are, they say, the younger brother of one white as conch; You are indeed the younger brother of  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  = the white one = Baladeva; to him that wears dark garments and wears the palmyra for his flag, some say you are older; to them indeed you are the older of the two.  
This context makes the one with body white as conch Baladeva or rather Baladeva as the Supreme Being; the weapons of  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  are also described in lines 28-58 in poem 3. After describing  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  and replying to  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  +  $\text{நீலையோடு}$   $\text{நீலையோடு}$ , the reference to  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  in lines 81-84 are as follows:  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  =  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  of the red eye,  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  (white as conch) with black eyes,  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  =  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  of green colour, +  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  (black eyes) of yellow green body.  $\text{நீலையோடு}$  stanza 44 also describes these 4  $\text{நீலையோடு}$ 's.

i) Viṣṇu's four colours in the four yugas:

I now propose to focus the attention of scholars on some peculiarities which have not been so far noticed. Firstly there is the question of the colours in the Nāndī sloka of the Bākharita:

शङ्ख शरीरगुः पुरा कृतयुगे नाम्ना तु नीरायणः  
नेत्रायां त्रिपदार्पित निभुवनौ विष्णुः सुवर्णप्रभः  
दूर्वाश्यामनिभः स रावणवधे रामो युगे द्वापरे  
निर्जं योऽञ्जनसन्निभः कलियुगे वः पातु दामोदरः॥

These colours of Viṣṇu in the four successive ages of the world present a problem: white like the cow and milk in Krta, yellow when He measured the earth in Iti three steps in the Tretā, green like the dūrva grass in the Dvāpara while killing Rāvaṇa, and black as collyrium in the Kali when He is famed as Dāmodara. White, yellow, green, and black colours in the four avatāras, Nārāyaṇa, Vāmana, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Here it would be pertinent for us to note that Rāma is associated by Bhāṣa with the Dvāpara age while the Purāṇas usually fix him with the Tretā yuga.





50  
of the classical drama, we should first have to account  
for this apparent reaction of the classical drama implied  
by the occurrence of the solecisms pointed out above.  
The foregoing investigation leads to the inevitable conclu-  
sion that the Samśkrit of the verse included in these  
dramas.... reflects a stage of literary development  
preceding the works of Kalidasa and Bhavabhūti.  
... The Prākṛit of these dramas revealed in an equally  
forcible manner a stage of development of Middle  
Indian dialects older than that preserved in the  
classical drama. It also betrays its affinities with  
the Prākṛit of the fragments of Aśvaghosa's drama,  
the Samśkrit of the metrical portions of our plays  
is found to be linked with the language of the epics.

— pp 111, 112 *Analecta*, 1945, published by the  
Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee, Poona.





Kaikeyi is one such woman according to him. Kalmiki also uses the word in an exactly similar sense since Kausalyā or Sumitrā, who were long past the meno pause stage and who could bear children only because of the supernatural pāyasa are not at all referred to by this word. The Alankarasastra describing a Heita attita preserves this peculiar sense. Bhasa uses the word in the masculine gender also in the sense of a strong person using his arms alone as weapons, one who is Arimanaka II. 11. Most of Bhasa's heroes, Bhāsa, Bhīma, Abhimanyu, Ghatotkache, Duryodana, Balarāma, and Udayana are all such stalwart 'madhyamas' and Bhasa himself might have been one!

It will not be out of place to quote here the conclusions arrived at by the late Dr V. S. Suktham in his article on Bhasa studies: 'No playwright of the classical age who aspired not to pass for an ignoramus would to such a degree indulge in a license which was little more than an unequal confession of incompetence. If therefore, we attempted to find for our group a place within the framework



In the description of Kashmir in Nilamata Purana Verse 20,  
देवालय is used in the sense of ~~Devalaya~~ -

स्त्रीभिश्च सुकुमाराभिर्देवालयसमन्वितम् ।

दुष्टैर्भुजङ्गैश्चार्द्रैर्महिषा पूरैर्विकर्षितम् ॥

But Verse 25 uses the word in the sense of a temple

also: तत्र नद्यस्तथा पुण्याः पुण्यानि च सरांस्यपि ।

देवालया महापुण्याः तेषां चैव तथा प्रसाः ॥

गणिका त्वं मार्गं जातकलेव (कीरुदेव. I. 17) and विगणय मं परा  
नगार्गपुत्रम् (कतिमा. प्र. 19). Exactly similarly, the word दर्शनं  
is used in the earlier sense of an opinion and has  
nothing to do with a philosophical system by which the  
devotee sees the Almighty (as वेदान्तदर्शनं). On p 3, in  
Swatna I (Devachar) we read - दृष्टं! ओ, सतिज्ञानमयं  
दर्शनम् - which simply means 'his views show full  
understanding or sympathy, exactly as in Kantilya,  
who sometimes sums up his views as इति नीतिम् -  
दर्शनम्. The word देवालय also tells a similar tale  
in Bhassa's Pancharātra I. 4 - (तत्र लोकदेवालयसमं  
देवालयं तद्गुप्तम्). Here it means heaven and not  
temple as in classical Sanskrit, Hindi and all  
the Dravidian Vernaculars. Similar is the word  
मन्दिरम्, the older sense of which seems to have been  
somehow remembered in the Amarakosā paraphrasing  
it as dr̥ṣṭarajāt. Evidently the word according to  
Bhassa refers to a young woman in the plenitude  
of her sex appeal (perhaps referred to as such in  
some Kāmasāstra treatise prior to Vātsyāyana).



१  
चरु पुरोडाश

नाम अस्ति, that these yamakas are the touchstone of the poet's Vyutpatti or all-round culture and judged by this test, the yamakas may be adjudged ancient and not artificial.

Some words are used in very ancient and rare senses (even obsolete now) by Bhasa. We will note only a few. The Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini mentions two senses for the root  $\text{अह्}$  -  $\text{अह्ति}$   $\text{अह्यते}$ : i.e. to go and also to eat. This latter sense of to eat, though sanctioned by the lexicons, has now become obsolete. Perhaps Bhasa is one of the few writers who uses the word in this peculiar sense of eating when the Vidūṣaka in his opening speech in the Chānu-datta in his opening speech in the where he remarks that Chānu-datta's poverty has made him dine out usually -  $\text{अन्तरि चरित्वा चरित्वा नश्यत्वा समेत गच्छामि}$ . The Bhagavadgītā II. 76 विहाय कामान्यः पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः is another similar context (५ गोष्ठीमद्वये स्थितामर्त्तमननतीं नृपं नव - Rām. P. 100. १५). Similarly the verb विगणयति has been used in the more ancient sense of 'consider' twice - विगणय



५७८८

- 4) जण्डुवातलण्डित इव वरजुः - श्रीरुद्र त्रस्तोत्रम्.
- 5) कोजिलानामक्षिपरिवर्त इव कुक्षिपरिवर्तः - Sūryasāhitya I. 1<sup>st</sup> para
- 6) उगुरुद्यागेन्द्रं सद्विप्रेन्द्रं सवेन्द्रं - Bhāṣya on Śāntiśāstra, imitated by Bhāṣya in  
Sundarānanda 10<sup>th</sup> रामायणचम्पू.
- 7) दृष्टोऽथो मुष्टिमुद्यम्य निष्ठुमेव घटोत्तमः।  
उत्तिष्ठतु पुमान्कश्चिन्ननुमिच्छेदामात्मयत् ॥ दूतघटोत्तम I. 51.
- This last sloka can be cited as a better example of 'ojas' from Anandavardhana's own standpoint than the instance he cites from the Vēṇīśambhāra  
यो यः शस्त्रं विभर्ति त्वभुजगुरुमदः" or यश्चक्षुः जभ्रमितः  
on pages 81 and 80 of his Dhvanyāloka. There  
instances are sufficient to show that Bhāṣya has  
used his figures of speech - not the yamakas  
alone - with proper discernment as he is steeped  
in Rasa. As Anandavardhana remarks on pp 86-87  
in his Dhvanyāloka - यमके न प्रवत्येन बुद्धिर्न कंक्रियमाणे  
निपमेनैव यत्नान्तरपरिग्रहो आपन्नोऽथ शब्दविशेषान्वेषणम्.  
अलङ्कारान्तरेष्वपि तत्तुल्यमिति चेत्, तैवम्। अलङ्कारान्तराणि  
हि निरूपमाण्युद्यत्तान्यपि रससमाहितचेतसः प्रतिभान्  
वतः कवेः अहंपूर्विक्यापरापतानि चरन्ति। Prakāśa's remarks in  
his Rasānanda remarks - कविव्युत्पत्तिनिकर्षं यमकं





the alliteration. The more artificial alliteration in the same  
Kavya XII. 93- अपारपारसंसारपारं प्रेषपुराणपरं can speak  
for itself. The theory has been advanced that Bhase has  
borrowed some ideas from Asvaghosa e.g. Pratijnā I. 18.

काष्ठादग्निर्जायते मथ्यमानात्, भूमिस्तोयं खन्यमाना ददति।  
लोत्साहानां नास्त्यसाध्यं नराणां मार्गो रज्ज्वाः सर्वयन्ताः फलन्ति॥

They say echoes Buddhacharita XIII. 60

काष्ठं हि मथ्यत लभते हुताग्निं, भूमिं खनयन् विन्दति अपि तोयम्।  
निर्वन्धितः किंचन नास्त्यसाध्यं, न्यायेन युक्तं च कृतं च सर्वम्॥

but the truth seems to be the other way round. One could  
also think of the comparison in Nanda's holding the mirror  
in the Saundarananda IV. 13

दत्त्वाथ सा दर्पणमस्य हस्ते समाग्रतो धारय तावदेवम्।  
विशेषकं तावदहं करोमीत्युवाच कान्तं स च तं वभार॥

with Rama's holding the mirror for Sita's decorating herself  
just before verse 9 in I act, तेन हि उत्कृष्टक्रियताम्। उहमादर्शं  
धारयिष्ये. A few of Bhase's alliterations which are absolutely  
free from any tinge of artificiality may be noted at random:

1) ततयज्ञानयज्ञान्ये दुर्योधनावशेषे - ऊरुभङ्ग प्रस्तावना.

2) पादः पायदुपेन्द्रस्य लोकनेत्रोत्सवः सुवः

० पाकिस्तो नमुनिर्येन तनुगाम्नरखेन खे ॥ - दूतकथनानन्दो.

3) गतिमतिरहितेषु पाण्डुवेषु क्षितिरखितपि - Shukla I. 6





44

भारि - 8  
भारवि - 10  
माद्य - 22.

Comment is needless.

The artificiality of the anuprāsas and yamakas in later poets is notorious; but Bhāsa's alliterations are all straightforward exactly like those of Vālmiki. Even Kalidasa and Avadhāna brought in yamakas with a conscious effort. The yamakas in 18 canto of the Raghuvamśa, रुद्रादिरे रुद्विरेण परिपुतः, प्रसवताम वतां-र दुरि हितः etc speak for their artificiality; similar is the peculiar sloka रथाङ्गनामन विपुतो रथाङ्गः शोणिविभक्तः  
Vikramorvasya: अयं तां पृच्छति रथसि स नोरथ इति वृत्तः IV. 18

This last can easily be compared with Bhāsa's Rāmā II. 11.

नून्यः प्राप्तो यदि रथो भवतो मम स नोरथः  
नूनं देवारथं नेतुं कालेन प्रेषितो रथः ॥

and one can satisfy oneself that there is nothing of artificiality in Bhāsa's alliteration. In this connection, the artificiality in Avadhāna's alliterations deserves to be noted in the following sloka from Buddhacharita:

दुःखदिग्भ्यो विप्रवृत्तेभ्यः संसारकालारपधारितेभ्यः ।  
आख्यात्मनि शेष विमेषमार्गे तार्ग्यप्रणहेभ्य इवाद्यनेभ्यः ॥ I. 52.

where the dative plural is purposely used to facilitate





the alliteration. The more artificial alliteration in the same  
 Kavya XII. 43- अपारपरसंसारपारं प्रेक्षुरकारयत् can speak  
 for itself. The theory has been advanced that Bhasa has  
 borrowed some ideas from Asvaghosha e.g. Pratijnā I. 18.

काष्ठादग्निर्जायते मथ्यमानात्, भूमिस्तैर्ध्वं खन्यमाना ददति ।  
 सोत्साहानां नास्त्यसाध्यं नराणां मार्गो रज्ज्वाः सर्वयन्ताः कुरुन्ति ॥

They say echoes Buddhacharita XIII. 60

काष्ठं हि मथ्यत लभते हुताग्निं, भूमिं खनयन्निन्दति अपि तोयम् ।  
 निर्वन्धितः किंचन नास्त्यसाध्यं, न्यायेन युक्तं च कृतं च सर्वम् ॥

but the truth seems to be the other way round. One could  
 also think of the comparison in Nanda's holding the mirror  
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दत्त्वाथ सा दर्पणमस्य हस्ते समाग्रतो धारय तावद्देनम् ।  
 विशेषकं यावदहं करोमीत्युवाच कान्तं स च तं वभार ॥

with Rama's holding the mirror for Sita's decorating herself  
 just before verse 9 in I act, तेन हि उत्कृष्टक्रियताम् । उत्तमादर्श  
 धारयित्वैः. A few of Bhasa's alliterations which are absolutely  
 free from any tinge of artificiality may be noted at random:

1) ततपज्ञानय शून्ये दुर्योधनावशेषे - ऊरुभङ्ग प्रस्तावना

2) पादः पायदुपेन्द्रस्य लोकनेत्रौत्सवः सुवः

०याविद्धो नमुनिर्यत् तनुताम्रनखेन खे ॥ - दूतकाम्यनन्दो.

3) गतिमतिरहितेषु पाण्डवेषु क्षितिरखितपि - Dutaśakye I. 6





	44
भारति	- 8
भारति	- 10
माघ	- 2

Comment is needless.

The artificiality of the anuprāsas and Yamakas  
in later poets is notorious; but Bhāsa's alliterations  
are all straightforward exactly like those of Vālmiki.  
Even Kalidasa and Bhavabhūta brought in Yamakas  
with a conscious effort. The Yamakas in IX canto of the  
Raghuvamśa, रुतुविदे रुतिरेण परिप्लवः, यमवतामवतां-  
दधुरिहितः etc speak for their artificiality; similar is the  
peculiar sloka रथाङ्गनामन विद्युते रथाङ्ग शोणिविमय  
Viṣṇukarmavasiya: अयं वा पृथ्वी रश्मि मन्तरात्रा नैवेद्यः || IV. 18  
he compared with Bhāsa's Rāmā. II.

Vikramorvasiya: अयं वा पृथग्विदोऽप्युच्यते ॥  
This last can easily be compared with Bhāṣyaśekhara's ॥  
इत्याः प्राप्तौ यदि स्यात् अङ्गे मम मनोरथाः  
नूनं दन्तराजं लेतुं कालेन प्रेषितो स्यात् ॥

and one can satisfy oneself that there is nothing of artificiality in Bhāsa's alliteration. In this connection, the artificiality in Aśvaghoṣa's alliterations deserves to be noted in the following sloka from Buddhacharita:

to be noted in the following examples:  
 दुःखं विधातुं तेभ्यः संसारकालारपधारितेभ्यः ।  
 अत्रापि तेभ्यः विधातुं तेभ्यः इति ।  
 where the dative plural is purposely used to facilitate





all the 13; the Svapna drama, in its 7 acts, has only 57  
 stanzas while later poets after the 7th century A.D. like Bhata  
 Narayana, Bhavabhuti, Rajasekhara or Munin bring in  
 stanzas in season and out of season. Some of the acts  
 like the second in the Utharadatta have no stanzas at all.

Sri M. Ghosh has shown in his article on the  
 date of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (Calcutta Department  
 of Letters Vol XXV page 33) that Bhāsa has used two  
 more metres than those dealt with by Bharata. Let me  
 copy out his table of the extra metres:

रामायण	7
महाभारत	4
अश्वघोष	7
Author of Triv. play (Bhāsa)	2
कालिदास	5
भारवि	10
भट्ट	8
माघ	22

Leaving the epics which are ārya or above all modern  
 rules, I am tempted to rearrange the chronology thus:

Author of Triv. plays (भट्ट)	2 (upajāti and anuprechan dasika)
कालिदास	5
अश्वघोष	7





42

Bhāsa might have lived at a time when the grip of grammar over the language had not tightened itself as a result of Patañjali's mighty influence in literary circles. The truth of the matter might have been that Patañjali and Bhāsa were themselves contemporaries. Grammatical studies slowly gained in importance only long after Patañjali and by the time of the Vākyapadīya (7<sup>th</sup> cen. A.D.) or Ananda Varṇana (850 A.D.) came to be regarded as the most important. Śiṣṭa of Anandavardhana's testimony in Dhvanīyāloka-

प्रथमे हि विद्वांसो वैयकरणः व्याकरणमूलतस्तद्विज्ञानं  
[p 47] - N.S. Edition of 1911. If as the Pischardis believe, Bhāsa should be assigned to the 7<sup>th</sup> cen. A.D., Ravana's omission of Vyākaraṇa Śiṣṭa among the Śiṣṭas he has mastered would be a very serious defect.

The simplicity of the language, the brevity, and the directness of the conversations which tend to focus a flood of light on every aspect of the character participating therein is another pointer to the antiquity and affinity with the earliest writers who, according to Keith, were free from all taint of artificiality and conventionalism. The Anjā metre, a favourite with Kalidasa and later poets, occurs but thrice in the Svapna and 11 times in



उपोपविश्य प्रणतः पर्युह्यदिदं वरः -

Drone Parva - प्रतिज्ञापर्व - 74.23 (Kumbhak)

41  
where upadeshtum must clearly be explained as upadishya  
mānam ātmānam icchāmi, that bhikarata wait to receive  
the instruction. Similarly युद्धकाण्डे x VII. 2. श्रोतुमिच्छामि तत्सर्वं भवद्भिः = श्रुयमाणं

3) मम हस्ते निक्षिप्तं तव राजं चतुर्दशवर्षी प्रतियुहीतुमिच्छामि  
Pratimā IV. p 291, where pratigrahitum is to be interpreted,  
not as to accept, but to be accepted. This is definitely against  
Panini's III. 3. 23. Kalidasa also has only one instance  
of such usage in Sākuntalā II soon after verse 15 where  
he makes his hero Duryanta request the sages -  
ājñāpayitum icchāmi, evidently to be ordered, and not  
at all to order. (The Trivandrum Edition of Kumāra III. 3.

reads 'icchāmi samvāditum ājñāyā te and not  
samvāditam ājñāyā) cp the periphrastic Future कर्तव्यमिच्छामि passive  
sense imbedded in Arundacharita I. 6. लोको कथायासिंहिलोचनः मे.

The double preposition उपोप in उपोपविश प्रवेशयति  
भगवन्नि सत्सन्नुदाचारः on p 275 in Pratimā II is archaic  
and is allowed in the Vedas to complete a metrical line  
- प्रेसमुपोदः पादपूजये - Panini VIII. 1-6. In the छान्दोग्योपनिषत्  
VI खड्ग, we find Satyakāma jābala asked by his teacher  
to sit in front of the fire, पश्चादग्नेः प्राक् उपोपविश. In the  
Sundarākanda, Ravana when seen by Hanumān was  
उपोपविष्टं रक्षोभिः चतुर्भिर्वल्लुहयितैः. 49th canto, 12th verse.  
This and similar other archaisms, already noted by  
various scholars, are sufficient to make me conclude that





sometimes also <sup>40</sup> suggests a plaintive appeal as in stanza 6.

1) राज्यस्याहं प्रदास्यति किरु - Pratihā I. p. 383.

2) वर्षीणि किरु वसवो जनुदेश वने तयो - Pratihā I. 23. p. 261.

3) तेन सह भक्तारकः भट्टिनीं प्रेक्षितुमिच्छति किरु Pratihā VI. p. 307.

The second line particularly makes Lakṣmana worried. He says in the context he is not concerned about the loss of the Kingdom at all, but he is certainly perturbed about his elder brother's having to live for 14 long long years in the forest! Similarly in the Dūtāṭakya after Verse 18

remarks chafingly अपनीयसं किरु चित्रपटः p. 447

One can also see that Bhasa is fond of using the past passive participle in the sense of an abstract noun, a regular feature of very old Prākṛit and perhaps inherited from an earlier and a living phase of the Sanskrit language.

रामस्य राज्यविभ्रष्ट कृतसंतापेन - Pratihā III. p. 273 where  
vibhrasta = vibhramśa or loss; similarly रामस्य राज्यविभ्रष्टं कूर्वती. p. 283

The peculiar infinitive which has a passive sense unusually imbedded therein seems to be another old relic preserved in Bhasa. To give some examples,

1) अभिवादनक्रममुपदेष्टुमिच्छामि मातृणां - Pratihā III. p. 280





sincerity and earnestness he can command, to Duryodana's generosity, telling him that the Pandavas are weak, miserable, unfriended and seek their welfare from him alone. The after each word joined adds to the earnestness of the appeal. The 4th instance again from the same context is also similar in its earnest appeal and reminds us of Kalidasa's 'tvam sarvato gāmi cha pādhatam cha' - Kumāra III. 12. Grammatically, if two 'cha's are used in the two metrical feet in the same sentence, one has to understand that the actions in the two clauses take place simultaneously as in Raghuvamśa I. 6 where the gods reach the milky ocean and exactly at the moment, Vishnu gets up from his slumber - 'te cha prāpura darvantam, bubudhe chādīpūṣaḥ'. Later writers might use the 'cha' similarly, but the living significance clearly associated therewith has definitely vanished as is clear from the following instances:

1) किं हि नो न तं न महेतं न ह्यमृतं नो न - Bhartṛhari I. 3.

2) यस्मात्तु येन न यथा न यथा न यथा - Hitopadesa.

One could also see that the use of 'kila' in Bhasa is <sup>is not</sup> in the sense of simple 'किं हि' - किं हि किं हि इत्यमरः. i.e. so they say or indeed. 'Kila' adds emphasis and





# Chapter V - Bhāṣa and his early affiliations.

== X == X == X == X ==

Bhāṣa seems to have been associated with Vālmīki, Vedavyāsa, Kautilya, Vākyāyana, Bharata and other writers of the pre-Christian era. His style smacks of a very early idiom and bespeaks a living phase of the language. There are a few examples.

The use of cha, vā and kila is peculiar and is definitely in a different strain from the usage of later writers like Bhāṣavi or Māgha. The following are a few culled at random:

1) ये दुष्टलाक्ष कृपणाश्च निराश्रयाश्च त्वत्तथा इमं सुगमन्ति.  
Pancharātra I. 37 - p. 383 Devaīkar.

2) विभीषणः - अद्यमेव । शबलः - च शबलेन सावरोपसिने ते वचनम् - Abhiseka III. p. 345.

3) ऋज्वायतो च विमलो च जनेन्द्रतो च स पार्थिवं शकुनिलं च  
Svapna IV. 2. p. 26.

4) एषा च शिखा मम दक्षिणा च - Pancha I. 31. p. B 97.

5) वैरं च विद्वहकथाश्च वयं च नृणाः - Urubhanga I. 31 p. 497.

6) च शबलेनावगतमन्यदप्यसीति - Pratimā V. p. 297.

These definitely indicate that these two conjunctions cha and vā had some definite living significance as is clear from them. Particularly the first from the Pancharātra is the context where Drona appeals, with all the





37  
distinguishes the pratimās of Bhāsa from the statue of a King, Bhaskara Ravi Varman  
in the temple. Worship of departed Kings is found in some other parts of India, in Rajaputana and Kashmir, where warlike heroes martyred on the battlefield are worshipped in special temples installed by their devoted and loyal subjects. Jayaswal refers to the discovery of similar statues of dead Śaishunāga Kings discovered near Mathurā (J. BoRS 1919, Parkham statue). So this custom should have started as heroworship. There is also the other theory that this idea was brought from the Egyptian Pyramids or their embalmed mummies by the merchants <sup>first into the west coast</sup> in the early centuries prior to the Christian Era.

Perhaps we could conclude with Prof Paranjpe 'The desecrating Vandalism of the literary thieves of Kerala may certainly be able to mangle and mutilate old plays, but they can never build up a new super-structure of the delicacy of a Śvapnavāsaviattā or the grandeur of a Pratimā' and we might add, the skill of a Pancharātra.





The genealogy from the Puranic lists such as those in the  
 Harivamśa or the Vishnu Purana or the Vayu Purana.  
 The mention of Medhātithi, again, in the Pratinā, has  
 come in for very strong criticism. This Medhātithi to  
 whom Ravana refers as the author of a Nyāyasāstra  
 which he has mastered is dogmatically asserted to  
 be the same as the 10<sup>th</sup> century commentator of Manu.  
 But when Manu is separately mentioned by Ravana,  
 whose very purpose is to boast about his mastery  
 over many Sāstras, <sup>one</sup> could not think that he would be  
 referring to but another aspect of the same Sāstra.  
 Rather, he must be regarded as being at pains  
 to explain his mastery over many more Sāstras,  
 and the fact is that Medhātithi is another name of  
 Gautama, the author of the Nyāyasūtras as the testimony  
 of Bharata epic Sānti Parva 265<sup>th</sup> chapter 45<sup>th</sup> verse  
 records: Medhātithirmahāprajñah gautamastāpasi sthitaḥ.  
 One can easily meet the other objection of Prof  
 Risharodi that the Pratināgrha idea was borrowed  
 by the "anonymous poet" — that is how he refers to  
 Bhāsa — from the statue of a Chera King in a Siva  
 temple at Tiruvanchikulam. Dr Ganapati Sastriar





वधूही रक्षोभ्यो, 35  
कलिरिव वराको प्राणेहितम्

निशलम्बो लोकः, कुलमयशासो तच्च निहितम्।

स्वप्नम् दैराग्न्यं जगदविकलं विकलयति ॥

Bhavabhuti's feeble attempt to imitate the skilfully  
arranged Svapna scene by making Sita dream on Rama's  
chest in the first act of the Uttara Rāmacharita can easily  
tell its own tale as to who the borrower should be. Another  
objection is raised that the Pratiṃā genealogy of the  
Raghu race is borrowed from the Raghuvaṃśa; but  
this objection cannot stand since according to Kālidasa's  
epic, the viśvājit sacrifice is performed by Raghu,  
and not by Dilipa as Bhasa would make us believe.  
Bhasa has not a single word about Raghu's digvijaya  
which inspires Kālidasa's best poetry even to the  
extent of naming his Ravana after that extraordinary  
hero. Bhasa again speaks of Ajā as having attained  
mental peace by daily sacrificial baths after his  
wife Indumatī's death, while Kālidasa simply tells us  
that he somehow bided his time in sorrow and retire-  
ment till Daśaratha came to be sufficiently aged to  
be "varmahara" or to carry his armour. Under the  
circumstances, it is more probable that Bhasa borrowed





<sup>34</sup>  
 experience with the lapse of time and Arimāraka  
 exhibits its poor stuff by freely indenting upon the  
 supernatural element at every stage. To the credit  
 of Bhāsa, it must be observed, that he realised this  
 defect of the earlier dramas the Balacharita and the  
 Arimāraka and carefully avoided them in his later  
 dramas. As regards the other criticism, that the  
 Arimāraka is based upon the Mālatimāhara, the  
 answer is obvious that the simple story of the Arimāraka  
 with its inartistic clinging to the supernatural at  
 every step has supplied the basis for Bhavabhūti's skill-  
 fully woven plot. Similarly, Bhavabhūti's cue for the  
 pathos in the Uttarakāmacharita was definitely derived  
 from Bhāsa's Urubhanga and Pratimā. Bhāsa's Pratimā

वयमयशसा, चीरेणार्यो, नृपो गृहमृत्पुना

प्रतर्कदितैः कुस्त्रापोदया, मृगैः सहकृद्मणः।

दयिततनयाः शोकेनाम्बाः, स्तुषाद्वपरिश्रमैः

विगिति वजसा योगेणात्मा, वयाननु योजिताः ॥ १७ ॥

inspired Bhavabhūti's Verse in the Mātaviacharita  
 IV 52, where Kaikeyi's brother takes her roundly for her

wickedness : पतिर्मृगोः कक्रं, व्रजति वनमेतत्सुतयुगं





in a city had proved abortive. Even the three 'Abhiseka' in the Abhiseka drama are consecrated outside the city limits and only hence perhaps, they do not end miserably as the one celebrated inside the royal palace of Ayodhya. So Sita's absence at the Coronation can be easily explained otherwise than as a Keraliya custom, and even if it is regarded as one, there is not much harm from our standpoint.

The other objections can easily be faced now. The Ratinā and the Svapna are far superior in quality as compared with the rather poor stuff in the Pancharātra and the Arimāraka, it is alleged. Well, it is quite natural that the earlier compositions of an author should never claim the mature perfection of the later ones and this is definitely the case with an author whose literary output is large in the case of Shakespeare or Tennyson for example in English. Bhāsa might have lived a full life like Tennyson, gaining more and more varied





ratha was ratified by the Constituent Assembly, and  
 even after this, Dasaratha's death actually takes place  
 in Ayodhya full five days after Rāma's departure.  
 From Bhāsa's standpoint, Kaikeyi does not come up  
 on the stage before III act. She only sends a message  
 about rājyaśulka through Mantharā and is not at  
 all present at Dasaratha's bedside. Her counterpart  
 in the epic might demand that the King should go  
 to the forest clad in barkgarments and might  
 receive dire abuse from Sumantra and Vasistha  
 therefor; but here the barkgarments come in quite  
 by accident. How with this reshuffling of the entire  
 situation, no blame can be attributed to anybody,  
 everybody can easily realise. With reference to Sita's  
 not being by Rāma's side even in the last act, one  
 may perhaps argue that in his desire to end the  
 drama soon, Bhāsa suggests that the regular corona-  
 tion would follow in Ayodhya; now he wanted only  
 a formal coronation, at Kaikeyi's express desire, in the  
 'Munijanaśāntaśāsa' where alone a real coronation  
 can be consecrated. The other coronation celebrated





can do within <sup>31</sup> half an hour's time). But when Vasistha  
had just started the ceremonies, Kaikeyi demands to  
rājya sūlka through Mantharā and the entire proce-  
dings are abruptly cancelled. This has happened within  
about an hour of Dasaratha's suddenly taking ill,  
and soon the trio, Rama, Sita and Lakshmana are  
already started for the forest. News is brought to them  
that Dasaratha is almost dying, but fearing that  
the old King's plighted word to Kaikeyi might be  
retracted through indecision if he saw them, the trio  
want to send a farewell message, but under the  
stress of emotion, they silently depart with <sup>tears</sup> -  
anukhvaiṇa vanam gatāḥ - They went away without  
sending any message. Soon after, Sumantra returns  
and informs the King that his children have departed;  
Dasaratha soon collapses, perhaps within 2 hours  
of his first taking ill; could there be any possibility  
of Sita being summoned to be by Rāma's side  
when the events were being hurried through this?  
In the epic, on the other hand, nearly 10 or 15 days  
must have elapsed after the first decision of Dasar-





30

In this connection, it is interesting to note that all the extant versions of the epic & the stories based thereon, be it the Hindi Rāmcharita mānās or the Tamil Kambhar, or the Kannada Torave or even the Telugu Bhāṣa versions mention Kaikeyi as begging the king for her son and Bhāṣa alone is unique in making her demand her rājyashūlka; as in the epic she does not do so out of rājyalobha but with a sincere desire to make the king keep his plighted word. All inconsistencies are removed in Bhāṣa's version which may be summarised thus: Bharata has gone with Sātrughna to his uncle's kingdom for a holiday; meanwhile, one fine morning, Dasaratha suddenly takes ill and within a few minutes, the illness takes a very serious turn and Rama is naturally summoned to the bedside. The dying king requests Rama to accept the kingdom; Rama refuses but the old king persists to such an extent that Rama is reluctantly forced to agree. It is only then that Vasistha is sent for and word is also sent to the Nepathyaṣatini, Aṅgā Revā, the stage manager of the royal palace to stage a drama in honour of the accession (as she





come up for the muktam of the coronation, this is  
 not convincing since another more convenient day a  
 few days later could easily have been picked upon  
 as they were the nearest and the dearest relations.  
 So one can easily see through Dasaratha's eager  
 anxiety to hurry up the coronation before Bharata's  
 arrival. In the epic, again, no satisfactory reason is  
 afforded for Kaikeyi or her 'jñatidāsi' Mantharā  
 or yet her own brother, ~~both~~ of whom tacitly  
 took Rama's coronation almost as a fait accompli;  
 this is particularly inexplicable when all of them  
 must have been active participants, or even must  
 have dictated the marriage contract. Why Kaikeyi  
 should have forgotten this plea on which any  
 court could easily grant a decree in her favour  
 (- courts in those days were empowered to try  
 such cases and also 'nyāsa' litigations in both of  
 which the decisions were not at all contested -) and  
 should have begged for the kingdom almost by  
 backdoor methods, when the straight forward method  
 was open to her, is an inexplicable riddle in the epic.





at once suggest itself that the Kekaya King might demand the throne for his nephew because of the *nayabulka* which Dasaratha had agreed to at the time of his marriage with her. (As he was very old at the time, to persuade her to consent, he had promised the Kingdom to her son, if he might have children exactly as in Sautami's case in the other epic). Bharata himself might not have known this; but Rama assures him that the Kingdom is really his and satisfies him with that last plea when

he comes to Panchavati -  
*purā bhāratā pitā mah<sup>se</sup> ratānam te samodahan*  
*mātāmahe samās'raṇṣīdrājyaśūlkamanuttamam.*

If Janaka is also excluded from the ceremony, the reason is not clear from the epic or even Bhasa; the same is suggested by another authority (Padma Purāṇa) that he was one of the witnesses to Dasaratha's marriage with Kaikeyi and so would have demanded its execution with Kaikeyi and so would have demanded its execution even if it meant loss of the Kingdom for his son-in-law. Anyway, the explanation provided in the epic, *paschāt tan sroṣyatah priyam*, that they would hear later and rejoice, is obviously a lame one. If they are excluded on the plea that they were too far and could not easily





27  
were present at the coronation of their husbands, it was evidently  
not obligatory or essential and the ceremonial rites and the  
mantras in the context did not at all demand her  
presence. In the Raghuvamsha, Kalidasa does not <sup>make Sita</sup> sit by the  
side of Rama in XIV canto, nor does he make <sup>her</sup> sit by the  
side of his wife in the XIV canto. Even otherwise, a large  
perusal of the context will convince any reader that Sita's  
presence in such a hurriedly got-up ceremony was also  
highly impossible. Bharata's story is completely different  
from the Ramayana where this coronation was decided  
upon by Dasaratha in consultation with Vasistha and  
ratified by the Constituent Assembly of popular repres-  
entatives at least 15 days before the actual ceremony.  
In the context in the epic, Dasaratha can be easily  
charged with a guilty conscience inasmuch as he is  
consciously trying to hurry through the coronation  
before the absent Bharata returns from his grand-  
father's country - अग्रेष्विति स भवतो यावदेत पुरहितः to  
quote his instructions to Sumantra in the context,  
why this unseemly haste and why are the two  
nearest relations - the brother of the Queen Kaikeyi  
and the father-in-law of the proposed Yuvaraja - to  
be omitted from the list of the invitees? The answer





be regarded as marriage in the Dharmasāstra sense. The burden of the two Udayana stories is the triumph of steady, fast, unfaltering, undying love for which no sacrifice is deemed too great either by Vasavadattā or Udayana. As Bhāsa himself remarks, this love is far superior to the love of the Chakravāka couples or any other chaste couple reputed in the Puranas so far - <sup>॥</sup> नैवेदानीं गार्हशाः चक्रवाकाः <sub>॥</sub>

नैवायमे स्त्रीविशेषैर्विमुक्ताः. Svapna I. 13. Even otherwise, the word Sambandha is a very orthodox word adored even by Vālmiki in the Sundarakānda - ३ समाकमपि सम्बन्धः कवि-मुख्यं त्वयास्ति नै, by Kālidasa - सम्बन्धमभाषणपूर्वमाहुः Raghua II, विक्रियायै न कल्पन्ते सम्बन्धाः सदनुष्ठिताः (Kumāra VI. 29), and by Bhavabhūti जनकानां रघूणां च सम्बन्धः कस्य न प्रियः Uttara I.

To regard Mahāsena's queen as a 'senior Malayali lady' is to read our own ideas into the drama. Much is made of the fact that Sita does not sit with Rāma at the ceremony of the coronation in the I act or the last act. This, it is alleged, is even now the case with Travancore or Cochin Maharajas and Bhāsa is alleged to have but followed this tradition. But the late Prof S.V. Venkateswara in his Indian Culture through the Ages Vol II p 42 pertinently remarks 'If in the later epic period, Sita (Bāla Kānda XIV. 35 and yuddha Kānda XXVIII 54) and Draupadi (Sānti Parva XXVIII. 44





25  
dated 9. 2. 1927. Bhasa might therefore exhibit some peculiar  
South Indian mannerisms, but these by themselves cannot  
posit a late date. If the Chākya repertoire consists of the  
stage copies of the Āścharyachūdāmani, Nāgānanda, Bhagavad  
-ajjinkya and these dramas, are we entitled to jump to the  
conclusion that the Chākya were themselves the authors  
of all of them? Nobody would be prepared to assign the  
Nāgānanda at any rate to them just because it may be  
very popular on the Malabar stage and some other reason  
must be adduced for the anonymity of the Trivandrum  
plays. As regards some peculiar Malayali words like  
Sambandha, neubbāmana etc noted by Dr Kunhan Raja,  
one Malayali scholar, other Malayali scholars, equally, Kerala  
like Sri Harikara Sastri, Raman Nambiar, Velloor S. Parameswara Aiyar etc  
have explained that they need not  
be regarded as such alone and could easily be explained  
otherwise also. One of such 'offending' words is the word  
'Sambandha' used in Pratijñā IV - evam sambandham  
manayate mahāsenah. Anybody who reads the context  
can satisfy himself that Bhasa never meant to  
suggest that Udayana would regard Vāsavadattā  
as his 'Sambandha' wife in the peculiar Malayali  
sense of the term. Udayana's conception is too holy  
for such a low type of companionship which cannot





## Chapter IV - Some criticisms Considered.

Prof. Pisharodi asserts that these 13 dramas exhibit very many Malayali features and since the *Chākyaṛ* (Corrupted from Sanskrit *Śāghyaṛ* or praiseworthy) dramatic repertoire consists of most of these dramas besides the *Nāgānanda*, *Āchāryachūdāmanī*, *Bhagavad ajñukīyam* etc and also since these are very popular on the Malabar stage, there must be late productions introduced into Malabar after the reformation of the stage by *Kulaśekhara Varma Perumal* and *Bhāskara Ravi Varma Perumal* in the 11th cen. A.D. There is a tradition among them that the first among these (*Kulaśekhara Varma*) was the author of the *Japati Samvarana* and *Subhadrādhana* - *Jaya* and that he also regularised the Malabar stage by his *āṭṭapṛākāram*. The latter is also popularly believed to have composed the *Vicchinābhiseka* or the *Tact of the Pratimā*. The Trivandrum dramas, being anonymous, there is room for the belief that they are stage copies prepared by the *Chākyaṛs*, Prof. Pisharodi suggests.

We may concede at once that *Bhāsa* might have been himself a Malayali, or what is more probable, a Tamilian of the *Chera* country as suggested by the late Prof. Vandevara Sarma in the *Hindu Literary Supplement*.





23  
Harivamśa Bhavisya Purāṇa II.40 refers to - senānibh Kāśyapa  
dviṇah - the Senāni Puṣyamitra as a divija of the Kāśyapa  
gotra. The other points of the performance of the Asia.  
medha and seeing his son a king - rājānam ViKṣya  
putram paramasamudayenāśvamedhana chesṭvā -  
agree fully with Puṣyamitra seeing Agnimitra who had  
assumed royalty in Vidisā according to the testimony of  
Kalidasa's Mālavikāgnimitra I or contemporary history.  
Samudragupta also might have performed the same  
yāga, but he did not see his son Chandra Gupta a King.





seem to have had access to both) quoted indiscriminately from  
 both and often attributed sentences from the one to the other.  
 The title 'Jvalanamitra' or Agnimitra as applied to Bhāsa  
 in the beginning might be due to the fact that one of  
 Bhāsa's heroes, Avimāraka, jumped into the fire in IV.8  
 out of sheer despondency, but the fire god only embraced  
 him - putram piteva parivrajati prahr̥stat. Later Agni-  
 mitra might purposely have adopted that very name so  
 that his plagiarism might go undetected. Many of the dramas  
 in this group like Chārudatta and the two Udayanadramas  
 have elephant episodes. The Pratipñā pertinently refers to  
 a Hastiśikṣā in which a 'nīlakuvalayatanah divya-  
 vāraṇah Chakravartī<sup>hasti</sup>' was referred to. From the Chāru-  
 datta, we can guess that Bhāsa had an intimate  
 knowledge of Vaisiki or the skilful wiles practised by  
 the harlots. Only the knowledge of the science of gamita  
 or Mathematics is not prominently featured in the  
 dramas of this group. The thorough mastery of the Rg  
 Veda and Sāmaveda was quite natural for a Brahmin,  
 Śūdraka tells us in the previous verse of the same  
 Prastāvanā that he was a divijanukhyatamah Karik.  
 History tells us that the Śūngas were Brahmins and the





the mist surrounding the Bhāradatta could be partially  
 cleared up. Bhasa might have lived in the reign of  
 the father Pusyamitra and wrote the drama Bhāradatta  
 and the other 12 dramas and perhaps also some more.  
 After some time, both Pusyamitra and Bhasa died, and  
 the son Agnimitra alias Śūdraka added a political  
 episode to the already existing small love comedy in 4  
 acts and enlarged it into the Mṛcchakatika. The interval  
 between the smaller and larger versions might have  
 been so very short, perhaps only about 10 or 15 years and  
 the busy monarch Agnimitra, eager to have his own  
 name preserved to posterity as the sole and real  
 author of the Mṛcchakatika, tried (with his royal perso-  
 -natives perhaps) to suppress the older Bhāradatta,  
 making all his contemporaries understand that he  
 was the sole author. But somehow, the fact of the  
 suppression of the Bhāradatta possibly lurked on in  
 some remote corners and Kṣīrasvāmi in about the 10<sup>th</sup>  
 cen. remembered the tradition and recorded it. But  
 the general scholar was misled by this literary plagiarism  
 and some of the literary critics like Vāmana (who





# Chapter VII - Jvalanamitra tradition examined.

Vākpati, the author of the *Gandavaho* and a contemporary of Bhavabhūti, remarks in verse 800 which when translated from Prākṛt reads thus:

bhāse jvalanamitre Kāntidevacha tathā raghukāre  
Saubandhave cha bandhe Harichandre cha ānandah.

The title 'jvalanamitra' or friend of fire applied to Bhāsa is intriguing. This tradition might refer to the fire-test which Bhāsa's dramas had to submit to before being adjudged excellent (compare Rājasekhara's *svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako bhūta na pāvakah*). Even Dr Winternitz has been forced to admit that this is merely a synonym of Agnimitra. Sūdraka and Agnimitra are identical according to a *Nāmanāli* quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin in his Commentary on the *Amarakośa* II. 8 - Sūdrakastvagnimitro vā hālassyācchāhivāhanah. The sloka ending with *agnim pravistah* in the Prastāvanā of the *Mecchakatika* seems to suggest that Sūdraka entered fire and evidently became a 'friend of Agni' or Agnimitra (as it did not burn him). If we interpret this tradition thus,





referred to in any other Sanskrit drama or poem. Rama's sympathetic characterisation of Duryodhana is another definite echo of Bhasa's Urubhanga hero. Ashvatthama Confronting Duryodhana's departing S'ri and chiding her in the beginning of the next Asvāsa in Rama's work exactly reproduces Kamsa's remonstrance of his own departing S'ri in the second act of the Bālacharita.

Similarly it has already been shown in the Indian Historical Quarterly vol V p. 724 even in 1929 that a Sākuntala Vyākhyā preserved in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras (R No. 2778) mentions the Trivandrum, Chārudatta, Dūta, Ghatotkacha, Pancharātra, Bālacharita, Swapnavāsavadatta, and Avimāraka, the quotations fully agreeing with them. The manuscript has been assigned to the 14<sup>th</sup> cen. A.D. and proves that Dr Ganapati Sastri could not have forged these dramas from his fertile brain. Similarly the Kundamāla statement - ~~इति रामायणे~~ इति रामायणे: towards the end of Act I has already प्रतिमार्गम् महेन्द्र: shown to refer to Bhasa's Pratimā, no other Rama's story known to be extant referring to the pratimās of the dead.





19  
The Kaurava teacher of Dhanurveda, while teaching both the  
Kauravas and the Pandavas in his 'israstraśālā' or college  
of Archery, once held a small test; therein he disapproved  
of Bhima's archery as if saying 'you have no lakṣyasiddhi  
or skill in hitting the target'; touched to the quick, Bhima at  
once walked up to the target, reaching there 'pavana  
javadi' or with the speed of the wind, as he was himself  
the wind god's son, even before the arrows could reach the target  
and took back the arrow he had already discharged.  
Well, the Ādi Parva of the Bhāratā epic as we have it  
at present, does not refer to such a test in which  
Bhima figures. It refers to another 'astrapaṅkṣā' in  
which the princes were asked to shoot at a 'bhāsa  
pakṣi' and ~~among~~ <sup>among</sup> the princes declared that he could  
see the head of the bird proposed as his target and  
no other thing in between. Droṇa chose him therefore  
to shoot and he did. But this incident referred to  
by RANNA was evidently borrowed by him from  
Bhāsa's Pancharātra III.12. where we read - इव स्तृणाकायां  
दृ - कर्णयते तेन शरे विमुक्ते विकम्पितं तस्य शिरो मयोक्तम्।  
गत्वा तदा तेन च वाणतुल्यमप्राप्तलक्षः स शरो गृहीतः॥  
As far as I could see, this episode has not been





Abhinava's own comment. The previous quotation from 'Gadāyuddha' is found, almost word for word, in the Triv. *Urukanga* with only two slight verbal alterations; the third line begins with 'Tivāṁ' instead of 'diptyā' and in the last line jagatah priyena is found in the place of the plural jagatām. One may easily suggest that another manuscript of the said drama might be procured in which these readings may be found. Could it be possible that in Abhinava's time, the drama was known by an alternative title 'Gadāyuddha' which title was popularly adopted as for example in Kannada by the classic Jaina RANNA (10<sup>th</sup> cen A.D). It is interesting to note that this Kannada poet has borrowed, without properly acknowledging the source, many of Bhasa's ideas (as also Bhatta Nārāyaṇa's). One such example is the curious sloka in Āśvāśa (=chapter) VI. 28 (Rāmānuja Iyengar's Edition of 1925)

guru lakṣyaśiddhizillene parivambam paridu pididu  
began tarpam.

tire pavana jarade pavaneja paridam mandirade yallu  
- yidimumbaleyam.

This sloka refers to a peculiar story according to which





धारी - किं नाम षड् रमाणेजं सत्यं चिन्तीअदि? (किं नाम तं दू मणीयं  
शास्त्रं चिन्त्यते?)

अति - योगशास्त्रं चिन्त्यते।

धारी - (संक्षिप्तं) - पाटिगाहोदं मङ्गलवअणं, जोअसत्थं (व  
होवु)। (प्रतिग्रहीतं मङ्गलवचनं, योगशास्त्रमेव भवतु)।

अति - को नु वाक्यार्थः? अन्यदभिलाषवशादन्यासंभवामि

This passage is found, word for word, in the Tir.  
Ammāraṇa. Again on p 360, we read  
प्रतिदिः - प्रसाधकैः प्रकृष्टसाधकैः प्राप्तेयैः पूर्वमेव सिद्धैः

गदायुक्ते बलदेवः दुर्योधनमाह -

बलदेवः - श्रीमहेन इदानीं तव वचनं मुन्याय स्मृतमिति।

दुर्योधनः - किं चाहं श्रीमसेनेन कथितः?

बल - अथ केन अवाक्यं विधत्ते कृतः?

दुर्योधनः - श्रूयताम -

येनेनुरूपं च पारिजातकतरुमानीनं तुल्यं हृतः

दिव्ये वर्षसहस्रमर्णवजले सुप्रसूयोऽसीकया।

तीव्रां भीमगादं प्रविश्य सहसा निर्गम्य युद्धप्रियः

तेनाहं जगतां प्रियेण हरिणा मृतोः प्रतिग्रहितः।

अत्र वाक्यार्थस्य साधकाः (तु भगवतो विष्णोः पारिजातहरण-

कीलावटपत्रशयनादयः etc. This last prose sentence is





expunged from their stage-copies. This explanation is quite plausible and the verse can easily be fitted up into the context in the dream scene (Dact) soon after the King's sentence वयस, प्रियमावेदसे ! धरते रत्नं दीप्तवती. As Dr Thomas pertinently remarks, the two previous anustups are preceded by a short sentence and symmetry would require this short sentence to be preliminary to the sloka. K. G. Sankar and Dhruva have similarly suggested other places in the drama where the sloka could also be fitted in.

~~In this context it would be pertinent to note~~  
 It is rather curious to note that this very Rohinava whose authority is cited against the acceptance of the Bhara hypo. has himself quoted in his Nāṭyaśāstra certain sentences from these so-called Trivandrum dramas without quoting the name of their author. On p. 362 SVI adhyāya, Rohinava quotes: करो  
 यथाविभारके (द्वितीयेऽङ्के) दारो नामकमाह -  
 दारो - अयम्, किं चिन्ती अस्ति? (आर्य, किं चिन्त्यते?)  
 अस्ति - अस्ति, शास्त्रं चिन्त्यते।





सञ्चितपञ्चमकारं नमनं द्वारं स्वरूपतदुत्तरं ।

उद्घाटनं सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृहं मे नृपतुल्यजा ॥

In this context, it would be pertinent to remark that Hemachandra, the author of the *Kāvyaṃuśāsana* probably a direct student of Abhinava himself quotes the second line as उद्घाटनं मे प्रविष्टा हृदयगृहं

सा हृदयगृही - p. 25. v. 5. Edition 1934. Some others

read the first word as sanchita and not sanchita. From this, it is abundantly clear that

most of the quotations from our *Kavyas* were made by our critics very often from memory. This must be

a sufficient answer to those critics who argue that some of the quotations made as from a *Chārudatta*

are really to be found in the *Mecchakatikā*. This apart, the explanation of Dr. Thomas was that the

*Chākya*s or Malayalee dramatic troupes were themselves careful students of *Alankāra* and when they found that this defect was a serious one, they purposely









This musical part of the पूर्वरङ्ग, was criticised as being too heavy and tiresome and even Bharata advised dramatists to curtail the same. कार्यो न त्तिप्रसङ्गो ऽत्र नृत्यगीतविधिं प्राप्ति। गीतवाद्येन नृत्ते च प्रवृत्ते ऽतिप्रसङ्गतः। रेवदो भवेत्प्रयोक्तृणां प्रेक्षकाणां तथैव च। विनोतासां रसभावेषु स्पष्टता नोपजायते। अतः शेषप्रयोगेषु न रागजनको भवेत्॥ Bharata V. 165-167.

In the heyday of the पूर्वरङ्ग, it was performed in full by the सूत्रधार; after it was over, he retired & sent his assistant, called रथापक to wipe the dramatist's नीन्दी. In some other cases, the सूत्रधार of the पूर्वरङ्ग, overstepped to sing the dramatist's नीन्दी also as perhaps in Bhāsa - Nāndī & पूर्वरङ्ग, by Gov. A.B. Athavale of Ahmedabad in Oriental Thought I. 1. Oct '54.

गानादावचि पदम् । यदाह श्रीहर्षः - अत एव हासो (भासो ?) नाम कविः  
 कामिभिर्नाटकैः (नामविक्रमैः ?) दिवं यातः निजजरेण कलिरित एव  
 अभिवर्तते । अश्वमेधस्य पुरतोऽवस्थाप्य इत्यादि । This passage  
 is quoted at length, <sup>because</sup> in Harsha, a prior Commentator on  
 Bharata quotes a drama (Nala Vikrama ?) evidently  
 of Bhasa in which the usual Sthāpanā ending with  
 अमे ! किं नु खलु माघे विशापनमग्रे etc is not to be met  
 with at all. It seems, on Abhinava's testimony itself,  
 to end in the way in which all Prastāvanās of other  
 Sanskrit dramas usually end. It might not have  
 been a Sthāpanā as the 12 Trevandrum dramas  
 call their introductory scene (Karnabhāra alone  
 having a Prastāvanā). So one thing emerges from  
 this discussion that wherever the Sthāpanā has  
 the words - अमे ! किं नु खलु माघे विशापनमग्रे... अङ्ग,  
 पश्चात्ति, one should not jump to the conclusion that  
 it is a drama of Bhasa. This so-called lakṣanā  
 proposed for these dramas by Dr Ganapati Sastri  
 is open to the defects of both anyāpti and atiyāpti.



रात्काव्यसंहारविधौ खलानां दीप्तानि वह्नेरपि मानसानि ।  
भयस्य काव्यं खलु विष्णुधर्मज्ञैः सौव्यानात्पारतन्त्र्यमुच्यते ॥

Add this latter was thrown into fire in a  
literary dispute between Munibhase and  
Vyas and fire did not burn his Kavya.  
this विष्णुधर्मज्ञ may be the विष्णुधर्मज्ञ referred  
to by Alberuni who might have wrongly  
attributed it to Vyas instead of Bhāsa.

A miniature prologue, starting with the 13th item of the सूक्त  
if rightly performed, would hardly leave any room for the prologue  
of the dramatist. In spite of the superfluity, both were performed  
before the audience for nearly 700 years from Bharata's time. The  
गीतक including वेदमन्त्रक, नाट्यक, उक्तयन्त्र, + वरिवर्तन with their abundant music  
must have entertained the audience. This double सूक्त, had 19 items ending with कवि  
नाट्य

But now the question confronts us: are these the only dramas of Bhāsa? Tradition is unanimous in assigning more than 20 dramas and some poems also to him. Jonarāja (c. 15<sup>th</sup> cen. A.D.) in his commentary on Pṛthvirāja-charita of Jayānka (12<sup>th</sup> cen.) I. 3. *Bhāsaḥ kāvyaṃ khalu viśuddharmān soḍha-nanāḥśārata vanmumocha*) remarks 'इति (इति) भारतमुनेः काव्यं विष्णुधर्मोदयेन नाम विष्णुधर्मोदय' named Viśuddharma

may be found in these  
Nāṭyaśāstra Baroda Ed. Vol I. p. 251 reads: त्रिविधः  
प्रस्तावना भवति, पूर्वरङ्गः स्याद्भूतान्यस्य वा। तत्र पूर्वरङ्गे स्याः  
कविहस्ताक्षरः व्यापकः सर्वस्वतन्त्रः निर्माता त्वयो नीतिः भुवः।





11  
dramas appears to be going farther than the evidence  
would warrant. Tradition makes the *Swapnāśaravada* the  
production of his mature genius as recorded by Rāja-  
sekharā's 'literary fire-test'. The five one-act dramas are  
really 'gems of the purest ray serene' and they might be  
regarded in their chronological order as the best produc-  
tions of the middle formative period. Hence, the following  
order would be more favourable from the point of view  
of gradual evolution. I would start with the *Bālacharita*  
for reasons already specified and next with *Dūtavākya*,  
as both the learned scholars propose. *Bālacharita*,  
*Animāraha*, *Akhisika* (to commemorate Pusyamitra's  
accession), *Madhyama*, *Dūta Vākya*, *Dūtāghatotkacha*,  
*Kamadhāra*, *Urbhanga*, *Pancharātra*, *Chērudatta*,  
*Pratimā*, *Kamadhāra*, *Pratimā*, and *Swapna*. In this  
order, I believe, there is a progressive growth in  
dramatic technique, skill and originality; but this  
chronological order itself is a ticklish question bound to be  
indecisive and I leave the matter open after stating my  
own personal predilections. The humorist, the romancer, the poet  
and the politician seem to have been harmonised into a myriad-minded  
personality, exactly as in Tagore in our own time, for example.





10  
Swapnavāsavadattā and Chārudatta. Of course, this learned scholar has taken into consideration the matter and manner of these plays, their slowly evolving maturity and dialogues, but he seems to have been influenced to a great extent by the 'poetic licenses and weak endings' (p. 119 - Bhāsa - a study) and similar other rather mechanical considerations.

But Justice A. S. P. Ayyar in his monograph on Bhāsa in the Indian Men of Letters series, 1942, seems disposed to arrange the chronology thus: Dūtā Vākya, Karnabhāra, Madhyamavyāyoga, Bāla charitā, Alhiseka, Pancharātā, Dūtāghatōtkachā, urubhanga, Avimāraka, Pratimā, Pratijnā, Swapna and Chārudatta. Both of them start with Dūtā Vākya and accept tacitly that the Chārudatta was left incomplete owing to his death. We cannot agree with this view; it might have as Dr Pusalkar seems tempted to believe, developed first into a drama of yaks (p. 174 - Bhāsa - a study) before developing into the Meecha - Katika finally; but to argue that it was the last of his



Sri Shiyali Sundarachariar, Sahiteyavallabha, in his review of  
the drama as published in Kathiawar argued <sup>in the Hindu</sup> that the  
drama could not be ascribed to the famous Bhasa  
and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja in the same Sunday <sup>Edmen</sup>  
Supp) Edition the next week approved of the idea and  
declared he had even spoken to the author in  
Poona and that subsequently the author had  
since died.

(b) The chronological order of the dramas.

The 13 dramas may be grouped under 3 heads thus:

Rāma dramas	Bhārata and early Kṛṣṇa legends.	Bṛhatkathā or Folklore
Pratimā - 7 acts	Dūtā Vākya	Avimāraṇa - 6 acts
Abhisēka - 6 acts	Dūtā ghatotkacha	Pratijñāyangan - 4 acts
	Madhyama Vyāyoga	Sarpasārasavadatta - 6 acts
	Karnabhāra	Chāudatta - 4 acts
	Urubhanga	
	Pancharātra - 3 acts	
	Bālacharita - 5 acts	

adras

The inclusion of the recently published 'The Bhāsa Canon' is not free from doubt and is left open: - add

Earlier scholars have not attempted to chronologically arrange these dramas since the question of common authorship itself was and is even now 'hanging fire'. Latterly Dr Pusalker and following him Justice A.S.P. Ayyar have addressed themselves to this question. Dr Pusalker's order is Dūtā Vākya, Karnabhāra, Dūtā ghatotkacha, Urubhanga, Madhyama Vyāyoga, Pancharātra, Abhisēka, Bālacharita, Avimāraṇa, Pratimā, Pratijñāyangan, Sarpasārasavadatta.





and inaugurated a Brahmanical revival.

The Rājasimha theory. Pandit Rāmāvatara Sarma  
Pāndeya contributed an article in 1915 to the Sanskrit  
Journal Sārādā doubting the validity of Dr Ganapati  
Sastriya's ascription of these dramas to Bhasa and  
Dr Barnett in 1919 approvingly ascribed these dramas  
to an anonymous court poet of some Kerala King  
Rajasimha just because seven out of these thirteen  
dramas - evidently the majority - contain in their  
Bharata vākyas a blessing invoked upon the  
Rajasimha. Pandeya Sarma pitched upon Rajasimha  
III, the Chota King of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, while Barnett  
is inclined to identify this Rajasimha with  
Mahendravikrama Varma, the author of the Matta-  
vilāsaprahasana (Travancore Sanskrit series No. 55)  
of the 7<sup>th</sup> cen. Both these are gratuitous suppositions  
and based upon rather farfetched and ingenious  
theories. (Sri A. Govinda Warrior in an article in Journal  
of the Bombay Hist Society (1928, p164) refers to 3 Rajasimhas,  
Rājasimha I 9<sup>th</sup> cen; Rājasimha II 11<sup>th</sup> cen, and Rājasimha III of  
Mammārkhayit also 11<sup>th</sup> cen (1043 AD); he is inclined to put Bhasa  
under the first Rājasimha.





same unseathed just like Arimāraka in Bhāsa's drama who jumped into the fire out of sheer despair, only to be embraced by his father the fire-god. Vaisiki and Hastisikṣā, the two arts in which Sūdraka speaks of himself as having specialised, are also mastered by most of Bhāsa's heroes and a Hastisikṣā is actually referred to in Bhāsa's Pratijñā. Sūdraka also refers to himself as 'dvijamukhyatamah' Kavi exactly as the Brahmin Puṣyamitra.

We will try to show in the succeeding pages that the post-Aśokan society depicted in these dramas agrees most admirably with this supposition that Bhāsa should have been a protégé of Puṣyamitra. Buddhism was slowly coming into disfavour with the general populace and dramatists like Bhāsa must have done much spadework with their Paurāṇika dramas in popularising the tenets of Hinduism among the masses. Puṣyamitra's accession must have meant an acceleration to the Vedic religion of sacrifices





dāna or Kundaśāharana, Abhiseka or Rāmābhiseka,  
Pratimā or Pratimārāma or Pratimādaśaratha). The  
famous Commentator of the Amarakośa, Kṣīra-  
svāmin, <sup>(of the 9th or 10th cen. A.D.)</sup> while commenting on Kṣātrīya varga  
(Amarakośa II), explaining Chakravartī or mandak-  
-svara - p76, Poona oriental series No. 43 - quotes

while referring to so many ancient kings -  
Sūdrakastvagnimitro vā hālassyāt Sālivāhara.

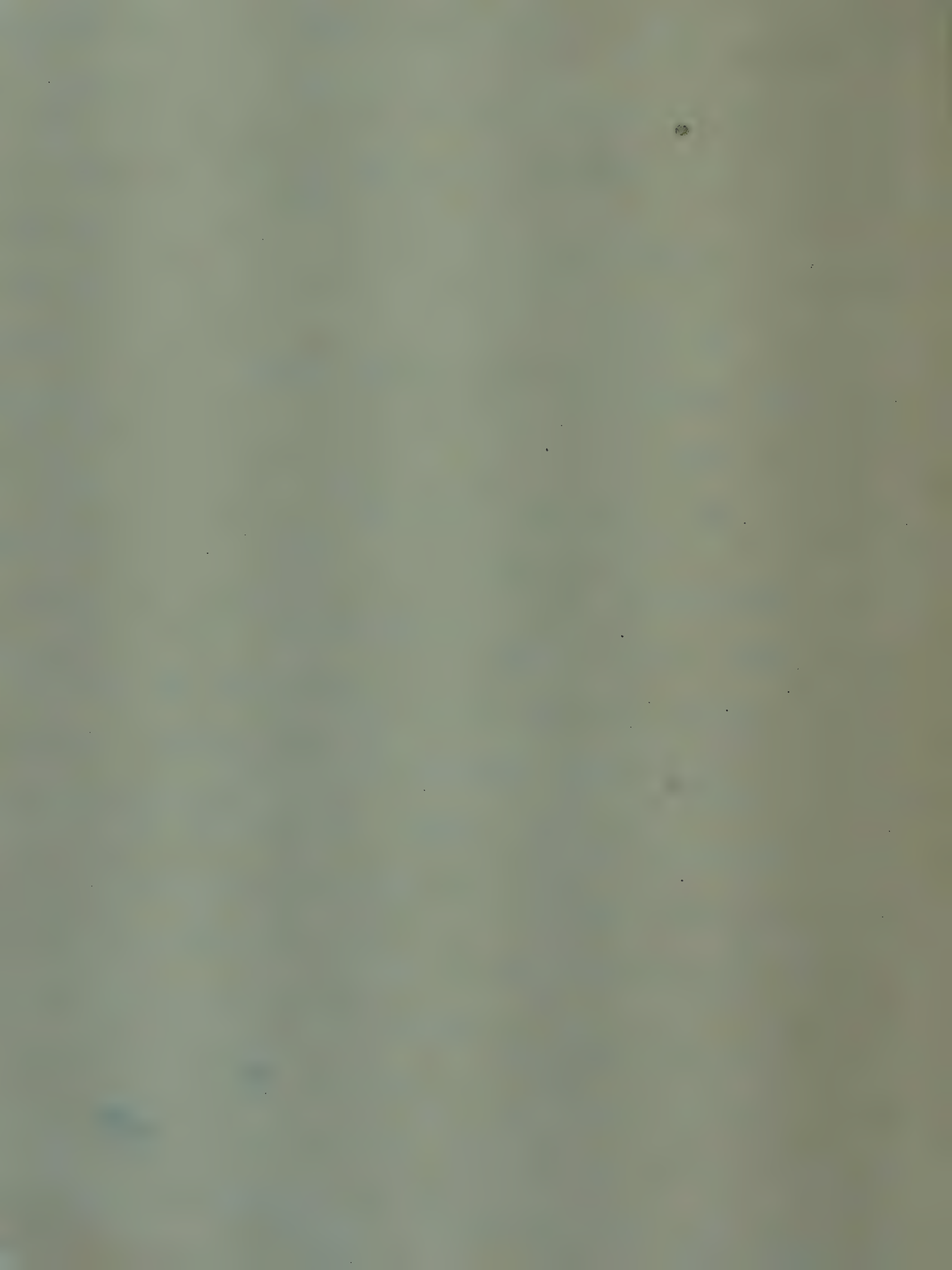
It seems therefore probable that Sūdraka and  
Agnimitra were identical. This gives us a clue  
to understand - at least partly - the mysterious  
stake in the prastāvanā of the Mr̥cchakatika:

ऋग्वेदं सामवेदं गानितमथ कलां वैशिकीं हस्तिशिखीं  
शोत्वा शर्वप्रसादय पगततिमिरे चक्षुषी गोपलभ्य ।  
राजानं वीक्ष्य पुत्रं, परमसमुदयेनाधमेघेन जेष्ठा

कञ्चुका जायुः शताब्दं दशदिनसहितं शूद्रकेण निंश्रविष्टः ॥

The name 'jvalanamitra' is given to Bhāsa by  
Vākpati, the author of the Gaṇḍavāda. Sūdraka  
speaks of himself as entering into fire in this  
verse; perhaps he might have come out of the





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Ugrasena in the drama is practically without any significance at all, but some sense can be squeezed out of the same if we apply the same to the patron Pusyamitra for whose benefit the drama must have been first staged. The almost bloodless revolution suggested in the drama had its salutary effect on the patron. On this supposition, Bhasa should have been a contemporary of Pusyamitra and Patanjali. The latter in III. 1. 2 refers to the Sobhanikas or dramatic troupes staging Kamsavadha. This should have been most probably the same as Bhasa's Balacharita itself. - ye tavadete sobhanikā nāmaite pratyakṣam kamsam ghātayanti etc. Patanjali's testimony clearly proves that Bala-charitā might have had another title Kamsavadha. Sri M. Ramakrishna Kavi mentions how other dramas of this series had alternative titles: Gadāyuddha or Ūrubhaṅga, Karmabhāra or Karmach.





- 3) Chaudhry, Dhruva and Jayaswal - 2nd cen B.C
- 4) Konow, Lindencau, Samp, Weller - 2nd cen. A.D
- 5) Banerji-Sastri, Bhandarkar, Jolly, Jacobi, Keith - 3rd cen. A.D
- 6) Lesny, Winternitz - 4th cen
- 7) K. G. Sankar - 5th cen
- 8) Barnett, Devadhar, Hirananda Sastri - 7th cen.
- 9) P. V. Kane - 9th cen
- 10) Ramavatara Sarma Pandeya - 10th cen
- 11) Rangacharya Radadi - 11th cen.

We agree with Jayaswal and Dhruva and assign Bhāsa to the end of the 2nd century B.C, but on independent grounds. The Bālacharita seems to have been written with the express purpose of inspiring his patron Pusyamitra to murder his master Brhadratha and seize the throne for himself. The Dhanur-maha got up by Kamsa answers exactly to the army. mehel organised by Pusyamitra at the end of which Brhadratha was quietly murdered. The adjective 'anugātārthanāmadheya' as applied to





3

- later into German, French, and Italian, Avimāraka into German and Italian, Chāndatta and Madhyama Vyāyoga into Norwegian, Urubhanga and Bāla-charitā into German, Abhisēka into Italian - Dr Sukthankar supplied these statistics nearly 30 years ago: and it is no wonder that the number of these foreign adaptations or translations will go on increasing. It cannot be denied that these dramas are very vigorous and eminently stageworthy, unlike the usual dramas we meet with in Sanskrit literature. As such they are eminently worthy of a careful and reverential study. Dr Winternitz asserts that they are to be counted among the most valuable treasures of Indian literature ~~and that~~ we should be ever beholden to Dr Ganapati Sastriya <sup>for</sup> discovering them to the world.

Various scholars assign different dates to these dramas. Perhaps their views could be briefly put down as under:

- 1) Bhāṣya, Dikshitar, Haraprasad Sastri — about 6<sup>th</sup> cen B.C.
- 2) Pusalkar, Ganapati Sastri, Jahgirdar, Kulkarni — 4<sup>th</sup> cen.





to as Prathitayās by Kālidāsa and those who  
ascribe them to an <sup>unknown</sup> poetaster who has ~~usurped~~ a time-hon-  
~~oured name~~. ~~forgotten by posterity~~. If some scholars believe  
that these dramas were written by Bhāsa the  
reputed predecessor of Kālidāsa and Bāṇa, others  
equally strongly assert that they do not possess  
such high excellences and that they must have  
been composed by a plagiarist perhaps later than  
the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Certain scholars are prepared  
to concede that these dramas might contain  
some of those excellences since they should  
be taken to represent stage-adaptations of the  
once-famous dramas which are irrevocably lost.

Wherever ~~way~~ the truth may lie, the popula-  
rity of these dramas is attested by their innume-  
-rable translations into all the North and South  
Indian languages like Bengali, Gujarati,  
Marathi, Hindi and all the Dravidian languages.  
Some like the Svapna Viśavadata have been trans-





Chapter I - Bhasa's date.

Gaṇeśvaram namaskurve siddhidāyakaśattamam  
tamasām vighnarūpāṇām pralayaśmṛtimātṛatah

The epoch making discovery of these so-called Trivandrum dramas in 1913 was hailed by scholars with great joy; it was also ridiculed by another section of equally learned scholars. Some scholars like Pisharodi who were ardent admirers in the beginning have <sup>since</sup> set their face against Mahamahopādhyaya Ganapati Sastriyar ~~now~~ and are vehemently denouncing him. But Pandit Ganapati Sastriar's "alluring theory" has in the meantime made fresh conquests and found new admirers" as Dr. V. S. Sukthankar has remarked. Opinion is very sharply divided between those who ascribe these dramas to the time-honoured Bhāsa, referred



XII - Kautilya and Bhase, a) अनुबंध b) आद्वैत cult

XIII - Bhase and Mahendra Vikramaditya (as in dist thesis)

XIV - Bhase and Saktibhadra (as in dist thesis)

XV Lapsus Linguae - Slips of the tongue (dist thesis)

XVI Bhase and Fine arts (dist thesis)

XVII Bhase's Madhyama ( " )

XVIII The unspoken word in Bhase " "

XIX Wit and humour in Bhase " "

XX Bhase's Vindications " "

XXI Visions in Bhase " "

XXII Indian womanhood " "

XXIII Chandatta + Mricchakchika " "

XXIV Bhase and Damaka Prakashan

XXV

संसारोऽस्ति न तत्त्वतस्तनुभूतां बन्धस्य वा त्वेव की

बन्धो परम न जातु तस्य विना मुक्तस्य मुक्ति क्रिया ।

मिथ्या मोहकृदेष रज्जुभुजगश्च यो पिशानभ्रमो

मो किञ्चिच्छेत् मा गृहाण विरुस स्वस्थो यथावा तथैव

अभिनवगुप्तः

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(Separate essay.)	



At the end of § 85 (Vaj. 3.28) the following verse occurs:

अविद्या वा भव वर्षाणि शतं सागं तु सुव्रता।

तेजस्वीयशस्वी च धर्मपत्नी पतिव्रता।

जनयद्बहुपुत्राणि मा च दुःखं कथेत्कचित्।

भर्ता ते शोमपा नित्यं भवेद्धर्मपरायणः॥

अष्टपुत्रा भव त्वं च सुभगा च पतिव्रता

भर्तुश्चैव पितुर्भ्रातुर्ह्ययानन्दिनी सदा॥

इन्द्रस्य तु यथेन्द्राणी श्रीधरस्य यथाश्रिया।

शंकरस्य यथा गौरी तद्भर्तु रपि भर्तारि॥

अत्रे प्रथानुसूया स्याद्धारिष्ठाया प्यरुद्धती ।

कौशिकस्य यथा सती तथा त्वमपि भर्तारि॥

ध्रुवैधि पौष्पा माघे मह्यं त्वाद्बृहस्पतिः।

मया पत्या प्रजावती संजीव शरदः शतम्॥



Taranatha writes that the great monastery near  
Lhasa with 7700 monks and a university with  
6 colleges was built after the model of a monastery  
at Dhanyakataka in the early centuries.

संज्ञानमुशनावदत्संज्ञानं वरुणोऽवदत् ।

संज्ञानमिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च संज्ञानं सवितावदत् ॥

संज्ञानं वः स्वैभ्यः संज्ञानमरणेश्वरः ।

संज्ञानमश्विनो युक्मिहोस्मासु नि यश्चतमः ॥

यत्कक्षीवन्संवन्नो पुत्रो अद्भिरसामवे ।

तेन नोऽद्य विश्वे देवाः सं । प्रियां समजीजनत् ५

सं वो मनोसि जानतां समाकृतिर्मनामसि ।

असौ वो विमता जनस्तं समाकर्तयामसि ॥

तच्छं योरा वृणीमहे गातुं यद्वाय गातुं यज्ञयतये ।

दैवी स्वस्तिरस्तु नः स्वस्तिर्मानुषेभ्यः

इधं जिगातु भेषजं । शं नो अस्तु द्विपदं शं तनुष्वदे ॥



Sukra 13-1-7 describes graphically the advantages to be derived from travelling & coming into contact with servants of Suddhanta.

230  
only 100 more to be paid

Paid to Hyatt	230
5 <sup>th</sup> April	50
5 <sup>th</sup> May	50
6 <sup>th</sup> June	50
10 <sup>th</sup> July	50
9 <sup>th</sup> August	50
10 <sup>th</sup> Sept	230



5 Copies

Anandavardhana's खे श्री के साहित्यः etc seems to be echoed in the Varanasi  
Bhāṣa mātṛ, लक्षण - तप्त हाटक केशोत्त ज्वलन्त्यविकलोजनः । वज्राधिकन खस्पर्श दिव्यासिद्धं नमोस्तुते  
✓ फलु के नरसिंहस्य नखलाङ्गुलकोटयः । विरण्यकाशिपेर्वशासुर्द्विमा रूपाः ॥  
हृत्पद्मवर्णः सर्वे मुनयो वेदपारगः । त्रिकालज्ञा महात्मानो नैमिशारण्यवासिनः

" BHĀSA or STUDIES "  
" Bharasa's Thought and Language "  
by (Part I).

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Tambaram.

सर्वस्याप्यै सर्वस्य जित्यै सर्वमेवाप्नोति  
सर्वं जयति -



